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Muskogee

Almost the only attempt by an early writer to give an idea of the nature of the Muskogee terms of relationship is by Stiggins, who says: 601

"All the men of the father's clan or family are called their father, the women are generally called their grandmother, all the men of the mother's family older than themselves are their uncles, being their mother's brothers. All of their own age and under are called their brothers, and all of the old women of their mother's clan are called grandmother or aunt." [a]

This information agrees entirely with what has been presented above.

The ceremonial extension of terms of relationship to clans as a whole is also mentioned by Stiggins. We shall refer to this again when we come to speak of the clan system. 601 614

In spite of the emphasis which Stiggins places on clans in determining the application of terms of relationship, an examination of the usages assigned to them shows that all of the terms not individual (such as the ones used to designate husband and wife) cut across, or at least may cut across, the lines of the exogamous groups. This is, of course, patently true of those applied to grandfather, grandmother, and grandchild, and it is at once evident in the case of that applied to the father since it is used for all of the male descendants of the father's sister through both males and females. The term for "mother" may be bestowed upon a woman not of the mother's clan because it is given to the wives of the father's sister's male descendants, apparently without any clan limitations. Again, if we may trust Morgan, the term "uncle," the mother's brother, is used for the mother's mother's brother's son who can not be of the same exogamous group as the mother's brother. "Brother" and "sister" are used, not only for the children of all of those called "mothers," who are of the same exogamous group, but for the children of those called "fathers," who may be of several distinct groups. The terms for the sister's children are not determined by clan lines because they may be used for the children of the father's brother's daughter. Still less is there an absolute association of the terms resulting from marriage and the exogamous divisions.

It is evident, in other words, that the determining factor in the use of these terms is the relation which the several persons to whom they are applied bears to self, not the relation which they bear to his clan or exogamous group. It is evident, also, that terms are applied to a class for the most part because the individuals composing it are connected with some individual, or small group of individuals, having special significance for the speaker. That this extension of the term is secondary is shown clearly in many cases by the employment of the diminutive suffix which evidently indicates greater remoteness in 601 602

[a] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 33.

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Another feminine name, said to be very ancient, was recovered by Mr. Grayson and bestowed upon one of his own children. This name, Tsianĭna, can not now be interpreted. Two other names, Tsinĭ'a, "peeping," and Mitiwō'hli, which probably means "turning around," were given me by Mrs. Grayson.

The following feminine names were collected by Doctor Gatschet:

Fik'-huya'hni, "Heart passing by, about, or around."
Isa-usăi'ki (?) or Sahusăi'ki, "One left (in war) with it."
Mihi'li, "One who likes somebody."
Setakha'hgi, "(Fighting) in a line."
Simihi'li, "One getting attached to someone" (this may, perhaps, be used for a man).

Among the Alabama of Texas the war names have long since passed out of use, and most of the young people do not have Indian names of any sort, while the meanings of those still preserved are not known. Following is a partial list of Alabama names:

MEN

Atcuwai'tcĭ.
Cĭ'mălokai'tcĭ'.
Cimatătăhge'.
Ciyupĭ'ti.
Conaftĭ'tci.
Cowai'yi.
Ē'lawēhtcĭ.
Holĕtke'.
Homalĕ'htcĭ.
Kaĭăne'.
Kocpō'.
Kone'.
Lone'.
Pă'djo.
Pahe'tcă.
Patăbi'.
Sĭ'late.
Sĭnĭăhe'.
Tăfolo'hkĕ.
Takohtcĭ.
Tcai'iki.
Tcăke'.
Tcămba'.
Tcawĕ'hkĭ.
Tĭkbăbe'.
Tola'na.
Wai'hke.
Yăga'hpi.
Yăhe'tcĭ.
Yaiyĭ'.

WOMEN

Apĭlho'yĕ.
Awăgahe'.
Cămho'.
Cima'goiho'dĭl.
Cokyûhki.
Făla'iki.
Mocai'tcĭ'.
Nocai'hki.
Okō'sĭ.
Pa'lusĭ.
Sa'hăwe'.
Sihoma'hki.
So'fiki.
Tcûkla'hte.
Yûlho'hki.

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Busk names should rather be called titles. In former days they were ordinarily given only on account of warlike exploits, especially the taking of scalps, but, as I have noted elsewhere, they could sometimes be secured by obtaining eagle feathers or killing many deer. In a few cases such titles were conferred upon women.[77] Each clan

[77] See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 43; however, in an unpublished Hitchiti story collected by Doctor Gatschet, in recognition for a deed of heroism which one woman performed, a busk title was conferred, not on her but on her son.

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had its own set of titles which were given to new aspirants after the death of the former holders. If at any time the titles belonging to a clan were entirely exhausted a name could be borrowed from the clan of the aspirant's father, but after the death of the holder it would revert to the clan from which it had been taken.

These titles usually contained two words, of which the second was commonly hadjo, fiksiko, yahola, imala, tástánagi, or miko. The last three belonged properly to certain classes of functionaries to be described elsewhere, but in some towns they seem to have become hereditary in the clans; at least this is definitely affirmed for the term tástánagi. It has frequently been reported that these titles were bestowed in a certain order. Thus one of my own informants said that a man would probably be given first a name containing hadjo, next one with imala, and finally one with tástánagi. Another gave the order as hadjo, tástánagi, and miko. Most of this is explained, however, by the fact that the names imala, tástánagi, and miko were applied to officials. Nevertheless there seems to have been some tendency to use a name containing hadjo first and one with yahola later on. These two, together with fiksiko, are called "common names," which here mean merely that they did not carry official positions with them. Hadjo means "mad," "crazy," but more particularly "furious in battle." Fiksiko means "no heart," "heartless." Yahola refers to the yahola cry, a long-drawn-out shout uttered by the bearers of the black drink while the chiefs and warriors were taking it. Originally it may have been restricted to a class of criers but later it became "common." The tendency of these names to become "common" in course of time explains why Speck was told that hadjo, fiksiko, imala, and yahola were all of equal rank.[79]

The first word in the title was derived from various sources, but there were two principal kinds. The most important set was based on the name of the totem animal, and in most cases it was the simple name of the animal itself, not a mere reference to it. Names of this kind were usually bestowed only upon persons belonging to clans having the same name, but sometimes they were allowed to those whose fathers belonged to that clan. Another considerable set was taken from names of tribes or towns, particularly those which composed the Creek confederacy. Sometimes they preserved the names of tribes or towns that otherwise would have been forgotten On the other hand the names of Kán hátki, Okchai, Pakan tallahassee, Otciapofa, and Alabama seem not to have been used, or if so only rarely. Only a few cases of the use of the name of Muklasa can be recalled. It may be added that the name of the Toad clan, Sábáktálgi, also seems not to have been used. Jackson Lewis said that the non-

[79] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 117.

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totemic names were taken from the common names which a person's grandfather had used because there would not be enough totemic names. Another set was formed by taking the names of the clan animals, the tribes and towns, and adding the diminutive suffix -utci.

Some of these titles were practically always in use and carried with them a certain seat and function in the square ground. For instance, many town chiefs were called by the name of their town with the addition of the word miko, as for example Tukabahchee miko, Tukpafka miko. The appropriateness of others is not so obvious. For instance, Yuchi miko was a name used in Okchai while Hobayi miko was a permanent name of the Tukabahchee chief. This latter fact agrees well with what I was told by others, that the names Hobayi tástánágí and Hobayi miko were in olden times the most distinguished of all titles, a man having the title hobayi being one who understood all of the strategic arts of war. Very few received these titles, it is said. Again, in Tukabahchee the leader of the Imala łákálgi was always called Imala yahola, the leader of the tástánágágí Tástánák tcápko, and another of the latter group Tciskale'iga.

As has been stated already, any man could receive several titles in succession, and the bestowal sometimes involved a change in his seat on the square ground, though not necessarily. When my informant Jackson Lewis grew to manhood he received the name Tcowasta'i tástánágí, which entitled him to a seat in the south or Warriors' bed at Eufaula, a seat different from the one he had up to that time occupied. In 1908 he received a third name, Ahá'łák tástánágí, but he kept the same seat. When a man became an Isti átca'gágí (abbreviated into I'sti tcagágí) [786] he was not given a new name but was simply called over to another seat.

The ceremony of name giving was after this manner. The leading men of each clan council were asked if they had a boy to name—i. e., a boy whose father belonged to their clan, though the boy himself would be of another clan. If they decided that there was such a boy they selected a name for him and told him what it was to be. When the time came to confer it, which was at the busk when all were fasting, one of the clan leaders—a heniha according to one of my informants—advanced into the square and announced it in a long-drawn-out shout, called by some by the same name as that given to the cry when black drink was being taken, the yahola cry. The boy then came forward, was given tobacco, and was then presented to the chief in a short speech in which the speaker said: "He is now your boy and you can use him for any purpose you desire." It was customary to give names in pairs. For instance, when Jackson Lewis received his last name, one of Mr. Grayson's sons was named with him.

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[786] See pp. 301–305.

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Figiya, probably meaning "to shake or tremble," a Chiaha war-chief living in 1733.

Hammitci, called "Old Hammitci of Sutchapoka," probably Old Hammitci of Lutcapoga.

Hopailtci, "One going to a distance" from houses, etc.

Imistisigo, "Man who has no men" following him, a chief who fought against the Americans after the time of the Revolution.

Lamhi tcati, "Red Eagle," said to have been the name of William Weatherford, leader of the hostile Creeks in the Creek-American war.

Lifagi, "One who punches (or stamps)" with his feet alternately, the name of a Creek chief who went to Texas at an early period.

Mikonopi, or Miko unapa, "Chief on top of all" chiefs, the head-chief of the Seminole during the Seminole war.

Mitikayi, "Pushing down," a war-chief of the Oconee.

Opototache (or Long Side), an Indian of Big Tulsa who signed the Treaty of 1790.

Stimafatcki, from afâtiki, "glad"; a signer of the Treaty of 1790.

Stimala'tci (shortened into Mala'tci or "Malachee"), "One coming into something of his own" (?), a famous head chief of the Lower Creeks.

Suta-milla, "Pointing toward the sky," a Chiaha war captain in 1733.

Tamodjâidji, "Who makes one (bird) fly(?)," the famous Tomochichi.

Timpuitci, "Coming near," Creek name of the Yuchi chief Timpuchee Barnard.

Tuwidjedji, a chief of the Oconee Indians.

Parents sometimes took their names from their children, but in that case they did not give up their earlier names. Mr. McCombs told me of a case in which a woman adopted the names of three of her children in succession. The oldest, whose name she had taken, having died, she assumed the name of the next younger, and, that one dying some time later, she adopted the name of the third.

Clans, Phratries, and Moieties

Native explanations of their origin

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The clan origin stories of the Creeks were of two kinds—stories attempting to account for the origin of the clan system as a whole and stories dealing with the creation of new clans.

Sometimes these last merely profess to explain how the exogamous prohibition between two linked clans came to be broken down and hence are not origin stories in the true sense of the term, but there is no clear line of demarcation between these and stories accounting for the existence of entirely new clans. If we could place any reliance upon these myths it would be easy to account for this confusion by considering that in all probability in many of them the name subsequently applied to the new clan would be assumed as having been already in existence.

In connection with the cutting apart of an exogamous group the expression is applied, "their fire (or light) was put out." Either this refers to a common myth told to account for these separations

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"A man and a woman belonging to different clans or groups happened to meet at some place away from the villages and decided that their proper relations towards each other should be those of brother and sister, of course in the Indian sense. Late one night, however, after they had been camping together for some time, the woman took a torch and went after water. The man followed her, extinguished her torch, and had intercourse with her. As they could no longer be brother and sister their clans or groups thereafter came to be considered distinct."

In Hilibi there was a story like this about a man and a woman of the Alligator and Turkey clans. When it was discovered what had taken place the people held a council and decided that henceforth these two clans should be one up to midnight but that at that time "their light should be put out" and they should be separate. The same thing happened in the case of some men and women of the Potato and Raccoon clans while they were watching the cornfields and their light was "put out" in consequence. Claim is made that these events were of recent occurrence in Hilibi but evidently the myth above related has merely been given a local application.

Formerly it is claimed that the Łidjâmi were one people with the Fox, Potato, and Raccoon, but an event of the same sort as that narrated above having occurred, a council was summoned which debated whether the penalties usual in such cases should be inflicted. They decided, however, that there was perhaps some occult reason for this particular infringement of the law and ruled that in future the Łidjâmi should be considered akin to the other clans only until noon.

Okusky Miller, head man of the square ground of Chiaha Seminole, claimed that the Raccoon and Fox "put out their fire" as in the preceding cases. The offense was overlooked on the ground that the Fox is "a roustabout who can not be prevented from rambling around at night at will." It was determined that the two clans should be considered one in the daytime but distinct at night.

According to Kasihta yahola, an old man of Łapłâko, the Turkey, Bird, Beaver, and Alligator were anciently one clan but became incestuous and separated. He had the same story to tell of the separation of the Raccoon and Potato people in Tukabahchee as that given by the Hilibi Indians.

Of an intermediate type is the following story related by a Hilibi Indian on the authority of an old man "now (1912) long dead."

"The people of a certain Creek town came out of a mountain cave. At the mouth of this cave was a root extending across it in such a manner that egress was to be had on either side, and half of the

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people emerged on one side, half on the other side. Those who came out on one side were the Aktayatci; those who came out on the other the Woksi. A part of the Aktayatci, who were behind the others, had horns, and for this reason those who had first emerged closed the hole in the mountain, shutting them in permanently.

"After the Aktayatci had gotten out they said 'We are the Potato people (Ahalaki),' presumably because of their origin. One of their women met a man in the outside world who said to her 'I belong to the Mud-potato people (Aha akliwahi),' and she gave him in return the new name which her people had adopted. 'Why,' they said, 'our names are nearly the same; we must be kindred.' When it was dark the woman lighted a fagot, and went to the creek after water. Then the same thing happened as in the cases already mentioned, and they said to each other: 'Our relationship is entirely ruined. Hereafter we must be enemies.' In consequence the Ahalaki and Aktayatci are said to be akin until noon and after that time no kin at all."

The actual origin of a new clan, not merely the further separation of already existing clans, is claimed as having resulted from the actions of two persons of opposite sex belonging to the Toad clan. It happened that the male offender was very much beloved, and the council summoned to determine what was to be done agreed that the thing was probably fated, and they erected a new clan for the woman which they called the Mole clan. It is true that the Mole and Toad usually formed an exogamous group, but this was not always the case, and if we were to allow ourselves to speculate we might suppose that a tradition of relationship, even though of a relationship which had been broken down, might give rise to a feeling of repugnance toward marriage between the two clans which would result in practically reestablishing the former exogamy.[88]

In this last story an important feature to be noted is the influence exercised by the personal popularity of one of the offenders on the collective decision. It is, of course, no new experience in human affairs that the esteem in which a lawbreaker or reformer is held has a pronounced bearing on his subsequent treatment and the success of his action. Indeed, it was presented to me as a thing known to have taken place on several occasions that a man had had sexual relations with a woman belonging to a part of his clan marked off in some way from the rest, or which he claimed to be so marked off, gave her a separate clan designation, and—especially if he were a person of standing—succeeded in having his arrangements accepted by the community. It was claimed that many of the smaller clans—among which were also mentioned the Eagle and Fish—had had just such an origin.

[88] See also p. 149.

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Of an entirely different type is the following trivial tale which pretends to account for the separation between the Bear and the Wolf:

"There were two old women who were sisters, each having a great number of children and grandchildren. One time one sister said to the other: 'We have been together a long time and have many children; I will go this way.' The other said, 'And I will go this way.' All the children of the first were Wolves; the children of the second were Bears."

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Regarding the origin of clanship itself, which is practically bound up with the origin of several of the larger clans, such as the Wind, Bear, Panther, Raccoon, Alligator, and Deer, there are several stories, some simple, some more complex, but all we have left is evidently only a fragment of the original mass of lore on the subject. While I was told, as a matter of common report, by certain very good informants that the people of each clan were descended from the totem animal,[87] such a suggestion is almost always lacking in the myths dealing with the subject, as, for instance, the Wolf-Bear myth just related. According to Legus Perryman, each clan, or, rather, each exogamous division, was descended from an eponymous female ancestor called Bird-woman, Panther-woman, etc. The female ancestor of the Bear clan was not, however, named from the common black bear, but from one called the Howling or Whooping Bear. The people now identify it either with the grizzly bear or the polar bear.

Doctor Speck's Tuskegee informant said that clans were "created in the beginning by the Master of Breath, deriving their animal characteristics from certain traits displayed by beings as they passed in review before him. He enjoined them not to marry their own kind lest they die out, and since that time they have observed the exogamous principle."[88]

A Coweta Indian stated that in the beginning human beings and animals were coming across the ocean in a gar-skin boat. On the way the human beings named themselves after the different animals. One said "I belong to the Panther family," another, "I belong to the Bird family," and so on. They kept on this way until they were about to land, when all of the animals were used up. One man remained, however, and they said to him, "To what clan will you belong?" He answered, "To the clan of that which you hear making a noise above my head." He referred to the wind humming overhead, and therefore his family came to be called the Wind clan. According to another informant the people formerly came to a body of water,

[87] The descent of the Wind clan was explained by saying that it came from the Skunk, the Skunk clan being a branch of the Wind. Also see Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

[88] Speck, in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

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and they jumped into it one after the other As they did so one said, "I'll be a Bird;" another, "I'll be a Bear;" and so on. In accordance with still another legend, people came out from a cavern in the earth, and as they emerged a man standing at the entrance bestowed their various clan designations. In fact, they seem to have been in animal forms or to have been accompanied by animals, for it is related that when the Beaver appeared he plunged into a near-by pond, and on a tree by the bank the Bird was sitting. Then the Bear came out so fast that he slid on into the water where was the Beaver. That is how the clans so named came to be together as Whites.[88a]

The association of the White clans in this manner brings us to a series of stories which seem to be versions of some common myth detailing the origin of at least a part of the major clans. A man belonging to Eufaula Hobaⱡi said that, according to the story he had heard, in the ancient times people were sitting about in groups enveloped in darkness. When light began to break in upon them they caught sight of animals, first one, then another. As the various groups saw these they called out successively, "I will be a Bear," "I will be a Deer," and so on, according to the animal which first met their gaze. Finally a wind arose "which swept the remainder of the darkness away"; therefore the last group called itself the Wind clan.

The following was told by Big Jack, a Hilibi Indian:

"The Bird, Beaver, Panther, and Wind people were enveloped in a fog. The Panther was chief (miko) among them; the Beaver was his heniha. The Panther undertook to parch some asi (*Ilex vomitoria*), stirring the mixture with his tail. His tail was scorched, however, and turned yellow, so he gave it up. The Beaver then used his tail, but it got too hot and he dived into the water. The Bear then took his turn, rooting about in the asi with his nose. In this way the ring was formed which is about the nose of the bear. Afterward Wind was sent to blow away the fog, and as it was sent to them part of the people adopted it."

This rather gives an account of the doings of the eponymous animals than the origin of the clans, but the intention is to show that the later association between these clans was founded on events which took place at that supposedly early date.

The following myth from the Tuggle collection is in part another version of the preceding, but it has additional interest as showing the relation of the Fish clan to the Panther and Wind. Tuggle entitles it "The origin of the Tiger clan."

"In the beginning a great fog covered the earth. In a certain valley there was a large fountain. Close to this fountain a tiger (Cooch-ar [really the panther, Katca]) lived.

[88a] See pp. 156-166.

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"The Wind came to Coochah and said: 'What are you doing? It is dark and gloomy.'

"Coochah said: 'I am making my tea, my black drink,' and he stirred the tea, which he was parching, with his tail.

"The Tiger said, pointing to the fountain, 'There are my friends, my mates, the fishes. When I make my black drink they drink with me.'

"The Wind said: 'If you will make peace with me, I will blow the fog away and all will be bright.'

"Coochah consented to make peace with the Wind.

"The Wind blew the fog away and all was clear and beautiful.

"Coochah made his tea, and his mates, the fishes in the fountain, drank with him.

"They sang a song of joy and friendship, and since that time the Tiger clan has been at peace with the Wind clan, and Fish clan, and when trouble comes to one the others always give aid."[39]

The ever present element of the fog driven away by the wind appears again in a myth related by William McCombs to the late G. W. Grayson and by him kindly placed at my disposal. It is as follows:

"When the Creek Indians came to know anything of themselves, it was to find that they had been for a long series of generations completely buried and covered as it were in a dense fog impenetrable to their powers of vision. Being unable to see, they were dependent on their other senses, especially that of touch, in their efforts to obtain subsistence.

"In their quest for food the people very naturally became separated, straying away from each other in groups, and each group was aware of the existence and locality of its neighbors only by calling to them through the obscuring fog, each adopting the precaution not to stray out of calling distance of some other of the scattered groups.

"After a great while there arose a wind from the east that gradually drove the fog from the land. The group of people who first saw clearly the land and the various objects of nature now rendered visible by the dissipating fog, were given the name of the Wind clan. It is related that, among the many things they were now able to see, the first animate objects observed by the people of the Wind clan were a skunk and a rabbit which appear to have accompanied them during their existence in the obscuring fog. While the people did not adopt either of these as their patronymic, they did declare them their nearest and dearest friends. So well is this understood by the full blood Creek Indian, that it is universally understood to be the duty of the sons of the Wind clansmen always to extend to these animals protection and defense from physical injury or ridicule, saying 'They are my fathers.'

[39] Tuggle Coll. of myths, Mss., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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"As the fog continued to recede and disappear before the driving east wind, other groups of people came to light; and, as each looked about, it adopted as the patronymic of the clan by which it would thereafter be known, the first live animal which had emerged from the fog along with it.

"In this manner three other clans—the Beaver, the Bear, and the Bird—were established, who, together with the Wind, have always been known as Hut-hak-ul-kee [Hathagálgi] (the Whites) and recognized as leaders in the establishment and maintenance of peace in the nation. The Wolf clan is kindred to the Bear clan, but without the political prestige of the latter. All the other clans, which are very numerous, were formed in the same manner, and are known as Tsi-loak-hok-ul-kee [Tcilokogálgi] (speakers of a different language) as distinguished from the Hut-hak-ulkee, or Whites."[*]

There is a story in the Tuggle collection intended to explain the origin of the Bear clan specifically. It is as follows:

"At first the Indians had no horses and when they hunted they traveled in canoes, carrying their wives and children.

"One day they went up a stream and landed in a wide bottom or valley. They cut a trail through the woods with their knives. Then they sent the women and children to drive the bears towards this trail, and they took their stand near it so that they could see the bears when they ran across.

"One of the little girls while driving the bears was lost in the woods. The people hunted everywhere, but could not find her. An old she-bear met her and said 'Come and live with me.' She took the little girl home with her and kept her four years, treating her as her child.

"One day the old bear said to the little girl: 'The hunters are coming again with fire. They will kill me, but you must run to Cho [Deer] mountain. After the hunters have passed us a little shaggy dog will run to the place where we are standing and bark at us. Then all the other dogs will come. I will run away, but they will pursue me and kill me. You must escape and, when the hunters have gone, you must return. You will find a coal of fire which the hunters have left. Take this fire and return to your people. They will receive you and you will become the mother of the Bear clan. Name your first son "Bear."'

"It happened as she had said. The hunters came and the old bear was killed. The little girl did as she was directed and escaped. She

[*] In 1904 Mr. McCombs himself told me this story and in much the same words. He expressed his belief that when these events took place the Muskogee were coming from the south, perhaps from South America, and that the fogs arose from the low, marshy countries near the sea. The first group of people to see the sunshine said: "We were the first to see the sunshine; therefore we shall be the first of the clans and shall own the wind, rabbit, and skunk." Another group saw a plot of wild potatoes and near by a raccoon and a fox, and therefore they had those things, and hence the Potato, Raccoon and Fox clans are one people.

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found the fire, started to return to her people, and on her arrival they gladly welcomed her and she became the mother of the Bear clan." [1]

This last story stands in a class by itself and is comparable to those stories of the origin of crests common on the north Pacific coast. In the other tales, the remarkable point is that most of them profess to account for the origins of the relationships existing between White clans only. Mr. McCombs's reference to the Tciloki at the end of his narrative seems plainly an afterthought, and it is certainly surprising that, if extended myths accounting for the origin of the Tciloki were in existence, not a fragment has come down to us. The possible significance of this will be discussed later.

DESCRIPTION

CLANS

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This subject may well be introduced with the following quotation from Stiggins, who was able to observe the Creek social organization when it was in a state of relative completeness:

"The strongest link in their political and social standing as a nation is in their clanship or families.— By their observance of it they are so united that there is no part of the nation detached from another but [they] are all linked, harmonized, and consolidated as one large connected family, for by their family prescribed rules there is no part of the nation in which a man can not find his clansmen or their connection. . . . All the clans in the nation take their family descent from the mother, being of the same family as the mother, and can only take part with that family. The father and his clan or family are only the father family to the children and he and his clan or family have no legal say or interest in the children's family concerns." [2]

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The whole subject of clanship is not, however, entirely clear even yet, and some features of it probably never can be understood, owing to the death of those persons who were familiar with them and the breakdown of the entire institution. I have obtained the names of more than 50 clans, and further investigation might add to the number, but several of these occupy a doubtful position and may not be true clans. In the following list I have included not merely the clans known to the Creek proper or Muskogee, but those of the Hitchiti, Alabama, Natchez, Yuchi, Timucua, and Chickasaw.

[1] Tuggle Coll., Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn. [2] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

English name	Creek	Hitchiti	Alabama	Natchez	Yuchi (from Speck)	Timucua (from Pareja)	Chickasaw
Bear	Nokosálgi	Nokosáli	Nita ayoksa	Talgo owáta	Sagᵘᵛ	Ara hasomi (of the Bird phratry).	
Wind	Hotálgálgi	Fabiltcáli	Mahale ayoksa	Náhi owáta	Godá		
Bird	Fuswálgi	Fosáli	Foso ayoksa	Cógol owáta		Chuluñchi hasomi	Fodi.
Beaver	Itcháswálgi	Posaltáli	Oláta ayoksa (Noko ayoksa in Koasati).	Emot owáta	Cagiᵛ		
Fox	Toolálgi	Toolálí			Catiená	Hana nayo hasomi (White Fox clan) (Buzzard phratry).	
Raccoon	Wotkálgi	Sawáli		Enogol owáta	Djá'tieᵃ		Cawi.
Water Moccasin (?)	Aktayatcálgi	Aktayatcáli					
Potato	Ahalagálgi	Ahalakáli					
	Tcowastálgi						
Alligator	Halpatálgi	Hálpatáli	Tcintcuba ayoksa				Hatchúntchúba (Morgan).
Turkey	Pinwálgi	Faltáli	Fito ayoksa		Wátcᵃá		
	Tamálgi	Támáli					
	Pahosálgi	Pahosáli					
Wolf	Yahálgi	Obahozáli	Waso ayoksa		Dalá		Nacoba (Morgan).
Bison	Yanasálgi						
Medicine	Hilistálgi						
	Tcokotálgi	Tcokotáli					
Lye drip (?)	Kaptcálgi	Kaptcáli					
Deer	Itcodálgi	Itcáli	Itco ayoksa	Dea owáta	Weᵃyaᵛ	Honoso nayo (White Deer), Great Deer (Fresh Water and Potano districts).	Isi.
Toad	Sopaktálgi	Sánáktcáli					
Mole	Takosálgi	Tákosáli					
Skunk	Konipálgi	Konipáli			Yúaaᵛ		Koni, or Hookoni.
Fish	Łálodálgi				Cá	Cuyu [kuyu] hasomi	Náni.
Snake	Tcitálgi	Tcintáli		Ulax owáta	Ca (?)		
Rabbit	Teutálgi				Cadjwaná	Apichi(ara) (?) (Fish phratry).	
Hickorynut	Otcálgi						

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English name	Creek	Hitchiti	Alabama	Natchez	Yuchi (from Speck)	Timucua (from Pareja)	Chickasaw
Cane	Kohasakálgi (or Kohosálgi).	Kohasáli					
Salt	Oktcánálgi		Hape ayeksa				
Daddy-longlegs	Tápohatálálgi		Tápasola ayeksa				
Panther	Katcálgi	Kowáli	Koe ayeksa	Iciwada owáta	Wâtc^{a}A^{a}'	Yarabe hasomi (Achcha phratry).	Kô istô.
Wildcat	Konkotcálgi		Kostcuse ayeksa		Cadi^{a}ané		Kô intcus.
Eagle	Lámh^{a}álgi				Câ'na (?)		
Otter	Osánálgi	Osanáli			Cûlané		
	Łidjámálgi						
	Woksálgi						
Mink	Oktcûtkálgi						
Corn	Atcilálgi						
Fresh Land	Kantálálgi					Uti hasomi (Earth phratry).	
Spanish moss (?)	Asunálgi						
	Nokfahálgi (or Nokfilálgi).						
Spanish (?)	Isfanálgi						Sfani (or Spani).
Turtle	Lutcálgi				Tâh^{a}â' (Tortoise)		
Weevil (?) (or English?).	Okfilsálgi						
Arrow	Łálálgi						
Pubes Hair	Inlanálálgi						
Long Dew	Sitcotcápkálgi						
	Walnkálgi						
Raven	(Kakkálgi?)						
Red Paint							
Buzzard	Sulálgi				Ya^{a} tî'	Apohola hasomi	
Owl							
Muskrat	Mukhasálgi						
Opossum					Wâtsagowa^{a}'		
Squirrel					Câya		Fâni (Morgan).
Dog						Etaca hasomi (Achcha phrat.)	

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Partridge						Caya [Kaya] hasemi (Acholeplus t.).	
Chief							Minke (Shanf?).
Heathbird							Châle or Otchâle (Morgan).
							Heiebe (Gibbs).

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To complete our survey of the clans of the southeastern area we may add those of the Cherokee. Within historic times they numbered seven, thus named according to Mooney: Ani'-Wa"ya (Wolf), Ani'-Kawĭ' (Deer), Ani'-Tsiskwa (Bird), Ani'-Wâ'dĭ (Paint), Ani'-Sahâ'nĭ (possibly an archaic name meaning "Blue People"), Ani'-Gatâgéwĭ (frequently incorrectly interpreted "Blind Savanna"), Ani'-Gilâ'hĭ (Long-haired People).[86] Mooney believed that at an earlier time there were 14 clans, each of the seven of the later period having been formed by the fusion of two. He mentions as an instance the fusion of the Turtle Dove and Raven to form the Bird. In a very early document in the Library of Congress I find the following clans listed: Wolf, Deer, Bird, Paint, Blind Savanna, Long Hair, Thorn Bush, and Acorn. All of these are identifiable in Mooney's list except the two last, one of which may have corresponded to his Ani'-Sahâni.

The Wolf, Deer, and Bird were undoubtedly equated with the Wolf, Deer, and Bird clans of the Creeks, and it is quite possible that correspondences were found for the other Cherokee divisions among the remaining Creek clans. The only hint as to the manner in which this may have been worked out is contained in information which I received from a Natchez informant living among the Cherokee. He stated that the Ani'-Wâdi corresponded to the Natchez Snake clan, the Ani'-Sahâni to the Panther clan, the Ani'-Gatâgéwĭ to the Raccoon clan, and the Ani'-Gilâ'hĭ to the Wind clan.

There is fragmentary information regarding clans from the Siouan tribes of the east,[86a] the Biloxi,[86b] and the Chitimacha.[86c] There were, of course, clans among the Tuscarora, Quapaw, Caddo, and some others who occupied a marginal position with reference to the Gulf area, but they need not be considered.

The Opossum appears only among the Yuchi,[84] and the Squirrel only among the Yuchi and Chickasaw, with the latter on the sole authority of Morgan.[85] A "Root clan" is referred to by Eakins, whose informants probably had in mind the Potato.[86] The Muklasâlgi are recorded only by Gatschet.[87] As Muklasa was a former Alabama town among the Upper Creeks it is probable that the designation referred properly to the people living there, irrespective of clanship. North of Florida the existence of a Buzzard clan rests upon only one or two doubtful statements. Speck enters it as one of those clans among the Yuchi the existence of which was "not generally

[86] Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee, 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 212-213, 306-309.
[86a] Lederer in Alvord and Bidgood, The First Explorations of the Trans-Alleghany Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674, p. 144.
[86b] J. O. Dorsey in 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 243-244.
[86c] Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 348.
[84] Speck, Ethnol. Yuchi, p. 71.
[85] Ibid.; Morgan, Ancient Society, vol. 1, p. 168.
[86] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 275.
[87] Gatschet, Mik. Leg., vol. 1, p. 156.

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agreed upon" by his informants.[56] So far as the Muskogee are concerned the idea that there was such a clan may have arisen from the similarity between "Sulâlgi" (Buzzard people) and "Tculâlgi" (Fox people), although in his list of Tuskegee clans Speck includes both. However, its undoubted existence and important position in Florida render a northward extension among the Creeks not impossible. Hitchcock is our sole authority for an Owl clan and the intimate association of this bird with witchcraft renders its adoption as an emblem by a social group in the highest degree improbable. Stiggins states that the Red Paint was one of the nine principal clans of the Muskogee.[57] Since he himself had Muskogee, or rather Natchez, blood and grew up in the Creek Nation his authority ought to be good, but I am inclined to believe that he had borrowed this name from that of the corresponding Cherokee clan. Possibly the Cherokee division was identified with some particular clan among the Creeks which in consequence sometimes received its name. In that case it was probably identified with a different clan from that equated with it by the Natchez.[1] Adair is our only authority for a Raven clan,[2] and Gatschet our only authority for the Walakâlgi.[3] For each of the names Sitcotcâpkâlgi, Łiâlgi, Nokfahâlgi, Asunâlgi, Kantâlâlgi, and Hilisâlgi, I have the authority of but one informant. The Sitcotcâpkâlgi was mentioned by an old Tukabahchee Indian, the Inłanisâlgi, and Łiâlgi, by a Seminole; the Nokfahâlgi, Asunâlgi, and Kantâlâlgi by an informant who, although a Seminole by birth, had lived most of his life with the people of Lutcapoga; and the Hilisâlgi by an old Łapłâko Indian now dead. The Lutcâlgi (Turtle, or rather, Tortoise) was remembered by one or two of my informants, besides being mentioned by Adair,[4] and, as may be seen in the table, it also occurs among the Yuchi.[5] Several informants remembered Yanasâlgi as the name of an ancient clan, and it is given by Adair and MacCauley.[6] The Fish clan is referred to by Adair,[7] was remembered by an old woman of the Texas Alabama and several Creeks of Oklahoma in 1912, and is given by Doctor Speck in his list of Yuchi clans.[8] The writer also heard of it as a Yuchi clan, and formerly it seems to have been strong among the Lower Creeks.

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[56] Speck, Ethnol. Yuchi, p. 71.

[57] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

[1] See p. 118.

[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 121. His remarks at this point are so general that it is uncertain who the people were among whom this clan existed. The same is true of his references to the Turtle and Bison clans. In the case of the Raven clan, he may have had in mind the former Raven clan of the Cherokee or the Blackbird clan of the Chickasaw, though the existence of this last is somewhat in doubt.

[3] Gatschet, op. cit., p. 56. In his Ms. vocabulary he suggests an origin from the term walâlta, to share out or divide, the word which also appears in Hoĺwahali.

[4] Adair, op. cit., p. 15.

[5] Speck, loc. cit.

[6] Adair, loc. cit.; 8th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 507.

[7] Adair, loc. cit.

[8] Speck, loc. cit.

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614 171 One of my informants stated that there was once a Dragonfly clan, but it developed that he had confused the name for dragonfly, tápásáná', with that for daddy-longlegs, tápohsálá. The remaining clans are known to all of the older people.

PHRATRIES

615 It must not be supposed, even after we have taken out the obscure groups, that the remaining clans were so many distinct entities equal in importance and unconnected. The vast majority of the population was in fact supposed to belong to a comparatively small number of major divisions, which we should probably call phratries, although, with few exceptions, they had no common name. In fact, only two doubtful cases of phratral naming have come to my attention. The appellation Sawanogálgi, "Shawnee people," is said to have been given to the Aktayatcálgi, Raccoon, and Fox clans, and perhaps also to the Potato. This was not because there was believed to be any blood relationship between the individuals composing these clans and the Shawnee but because the Shawnee were thought to have supernatural power—particularly that of rendering themselves invisible—developed very highly, and the clans thought that by assuming the name they could attract to themselves some of the same power. The reason why the term was appropriated to this particular set of clans is because the chiefs of Tukabahchee belonged to it, and, as we shall see, relations between the Shawnee and the Muskogee of this town were particularly intimate. In a more extended sense the name Sawanogálgi was assumed by the entire Tukabahchee tribe during the busk ceremonial. In important busk speeches, speeches delivered just before ball games, etc., the orator would say, "I am of the Sawanogi."

[609 789] The second case depends entirely upon the correctness of a statement by Stiggins, who enumerates nine constituent clans of the Creek confederacy, the last being "the isfauna (Isfanálgi) which is composed of many small clans."[9] Today the Isfanálgi are barely remembered but Gatschet heard of them,[10] and they are the Kasihta clan "Istau-nul-gee" referred to by Hawkins in his sketch, as well as the "Spanalgee" of Hilibi town to which he states that Robert Grierson's wife belonged.[11] Perhaps they were connected with the Ishpani or Sfani totemic division among the Chickasaw which sometimes gave its name to one of the two great moieties in that tribe.[12] This does not have the appearance of a native Indian word, and there is every reason to believe it is intended for "Spanish." Such an interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of my informants

[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 26.
[10] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. I, p. 156.
[11] Hawkins, in Ga. Hist. Soc., Colls., vol. III, p. 156; vol. IX, p. 31.
[12] Mentioned by Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 31.

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615 claimed to be connected with the Cane. According to another old man, however, the Mink was akin to the Beaver. Jackson Lewis, one of the best of my informants, affirmed that the Cane clan was "kindred to and nearly the same as the Raccoon clan," while an old Seminole connected it with the Beaver and Potato. When we remember that the Raccoon and Potato were often classed together we see a reason for the association of this set of clans—Mink, Cane, Beaver, Raccoon, and Potato. According to another informant, the Cane clan in Kealedji was associated with the Mole, Raccoon, Potato, Fox, and Łidjámálgi clans, which agrees with the statement of Jackson Lewis; but I learned that in the Hitchiti town among the Seminole it was placed in one group with the Deer, Panther, and Pahosálgi. This would be an altogether different classification from that given by the others. According to Jackson Lewis, the Hickorynut clan was kindred to the Eagle. The Tcowastálgi were either identical with the Potato clan or, what is more probable, closely associated with it. At some period in the not remote past the Fox and Daddy-longlegs clans are said to have united into one which afterwards received the name Raccoon. This did not involve the Texas Alabama, and in any case can only have meant that the Fox and Daddy-longlegs combined with an already existing Raccoon clan.[14] The Yanasálgi are thought, for what reason I know not, to have belonged among the Tciloki clans to be discussed presently. Nothing more has been preserved regarding the connection of this clan, or the affiliations of the Atciálgi, Okilisálgi, Sidjotcápkálgi, or Walakálgi, while, as we have seen, those of the Sulálgi and Muklasálgi are in doubt. The name Okilisálgi is, uncertainly, said to refer to the weevil (átci-suklaitcá), but this seems rather far-fetched and Gatschet's suggestion that it was an attempt at "English" is attractive in view of the seeming identification of a Spanish clan.[15]

615 Before giving an account of the other clan associations—(2) and
•614 (3)—it will be necessary to explain a Creek institution which has
621 an important bearing on this question. At the time of the annual ceremonial called the busk it was customary for each clan, or each set of clans considering themselves related, to hold a council and listen to an address from its oldest or ablest "uncle" (pawa), who reviewed the events of the preceding year, praised those who had done well, and reprimanded and even threatened those who had done badly. It sometimes happened, however, that a clan was too weak in numbers to maintain a council of its own, in which case it would examine the speakers of the different councils and, choosing one who appeared to be particularly good, its leaders would approach the leaders of that particular council and say, "We will be with you and join you in your councils." Children brought up together and catechised together in this manner usually considered themselves brothers and sisters and it was not thought right for them to intermarry, but the

[14] See p. 154. [15] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 158; Ms. vocab.

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rule appears not to have been maintained with absolute rigidity in the cases of the large, well-recognized clans which might happen to be reduced sometimes to the necessity of resorting to this expedient. Nevertheless the institution tended toward the development of exogamous bodies differing considerably in composition in the different towns, and it is no doubt accountable for the peculiar inconsistencies among them already noted.

In the subjoined list I give the clan councils in all of the Creek and Seminole towns from which I was able to obtain information. Some towns are so nearly extinct that mistakes have undoubtedly been made, but the list embodies the best information to be had. Where two informants have been consulted and the testimony of these has differed considerably I have inserted the conflicting lists, numbering them (1) and (2).

CLAN COUNCILS BY TOWNS

UPPER CREEKS

White towns

Talladega:
1. Raccoon, Aktayatci.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird.
5. Alligator, Beaver.[16]
6. Deer.
7. Panther.

Abihka-in-the-West:
1. Bird, Alligator, Beaver.
2. Bear, Panther, Wind.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.

Kan-tcati:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Deer.
3. Panther.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.
6. Alligator.
7. Bird.
8. Beaver (but perhaps placed with the Bird).

Otciapofa:
1. Panther.
2. Potato.
3. Tâmi.
4. Wind.
5. Pahosa.
6. Beaver.

Otciapofa—Continued.
7. Bear.
8. Aktayatci.
9. Raccoon.
10. Deer.

Tulsa Little River:[17]
1. Bird, Eagle.
2. Deer, Pahosa, Panther, Kapitca(?).[18]
3. Wildcat.
4. Potato.
5. Raccoon.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Wind.
8. Bear.
9. Beaver.
10. Otter.[19]

Lutcapoga (1):
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Tâmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bird.
5. Beaver.
6. Bear.
7. Wind.
8. Deer.

Lutcapoga (2)
1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Panther.
2. Aktayatci. Kapitca, Eagle.
3. Bear, Bird, Beaver.[20]
4. Wind.

[16] The number of Beaver people in this town was very small.
[17] The Turkey was also represented here, but its relations are unknown.
[18] The classification of the Kapitca in this group seems very doubtful. One informant also separated the Pahosa from it, but with less reason, as may be seen if we compare the associations of the Deer and Pahosa in other places.
[19] The presence of an Otter clan here depends on the testimony of one informant, although a very good one, who stated that in this town, unlike some others, the Beaver and Otter people intermarried.
[20] In the Tulsa towns, unlike most others, the Beaver and Bird seem to have preserved their independence and therefore informant 2 is probably wrong. Which informant is right regarding the Bird and Bear it is impossible for me to determine.

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Okfuskee:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Bear.
5. Bird.
6. Beaver.
7. Wind.
8. Panther.
9. Aktayatci.

Abihkutci:
1. Potato, Raccoon, Fox, Aktayatci, Woksi, Eagle, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Bird, Beaver.
5. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
6. Deer, Pahosa, Mole.
7. Panther, Wildcat.

Nuyaka:
1. Bear.
2. Wind.
3. Bird.
4. Beaver.
5. Deer.
6. Panther.
7. Alligator.
8. Raccoon.

Pakan tallahassee (1):
1. Bird, Bear, Wolf.
2. Wind, Aktayatci.[31]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Deer.
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey(?).

Pakan tallahassee (2):
1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci.

Wiogufki (1):
1. Raccoon, Potato(?).
2. Alligator, Tâmi, Snake.
3. Bird, Pahosa.
4. Kapitca, Aktayatci.
5. Wind.
6. Beaver.
7. Bear.
8. Deer.

Wiogufki (2):
1. Bear, Beaver, Bird, Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Wind.
5. Panther, Wildcat.

Asilanabi:
1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Deer(?).[31a]
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Panther.[31a]
4. Wind.
5. Aktayatci.

(Okchai and Lálogálga were probably the same as Asilanabi.)

Wiwohka:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Kapitca.
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Wind, Skunk.
4. Bear, Bird, Wolf.
5. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Snake, Beaver.
6. Deer, Pahosa.
7. Aktayatci.[32]

Tuskegee:[33]
1. Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi.
2. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci.
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Bird.
5. Wind.
6. Bear.

Koasati No. 2:
1. Wind, Bear (and all Whites).
2. Raccoon, Alligator, Beaver, Bird, Panther, Deer, Aktayatci, Daddy-longlegs (and all Tcilokl).

Red towns

Tukaoahchee:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Aktayatci.
2. Raccoon, Eagle.[34]
3. Potato, Fox.
4. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Woksi.
5. Wind, Skunk
6. Deer.
7. Bird, Beaver, Otter.[35]
8. Bear.

[31] The association of the Wind and Aktayatci seems improbable.
[31a] But see p. 149 for a probable Deer-Panther association at Okchai.
[32] The Aktayatci perhaps belong in group 1.
[33] Speck notes in this town also the Deer, Fox, Mink, Snake, Buzzard, Skunk, and Rabbit clans.
[34] Some place the Potato in this group.
[35] There is some uncertainty as to the position of the Otter.

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Atasi (very defective):
1. Alligator, Turkey.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird, Beaver (?).
5. Aktayatci.
6. Panther.
7. Deer.
8. Raccoon, Potato.

Kealedji:
1. Mole, Racpoon, Potato,[28] Fox, Lidjámi, Kohasa.
2. Skunk, Wind.
3. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey, Wokasi.
4. Aktayatci.
5. Bear, Wolf.
6. Bird, Beaver.
7. Deer.
8. Panther.

Łapláko:[29]
1. Pahosa, Deer.
2. Beaver, Bear, Bird.[30]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Aktayatci, Kapitca (?).
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey.
7. Wind.

Hilibi:
1. Raccoon, Potato.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Bird.
6. Deer.

Upper Eufaula:[31]
1. Aktayatci, Potato, Raccoon.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf, Bird (?).
4. Panther.
5. Deer.
6. Tàmi, Turkey, Alligator.

Alabama (1):
1. Aktayatci, Deer.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Beaver.

Alabama (2):
1. Alligator, Wind, Bird, Turkey, Aktayatci.[32]
2. Bear, Salt, Panther,[33] Wildcat.[33]

Alabama in Texas:
1. Deer, Wolf.[33]
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Bear, Salt.
4. Alligator, Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, Turkey.
5. Wind, Skunk.

LOWER CREEKS

White towns

Kasihta:[34]
1. Potato, Tàmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Fox, Raccoon, Beaver.
2. Wind, Fish (?).
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Panther.
5. Deer.[35]
6. Mole.

Hitchiti:
1. Pahosa, Mole, Deer.
2. Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Tàmi, Snake, Otter, Aktayatci.
3. Potato.
4. Panther.
5. Bear.
6. Wind

Okmulgee:[35]
1. Tàmi, Alligator.
2. Deer, Panther.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Beaver, Bird.
5. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Fox.
6. Wind.

[28] According to one informant the Potato belonged in group 3.
[29] There were also some of the Potato clan; associations unknown.
[30] An inferior informant classified the Bird and Bear separately.
[31] The Beaver clan was also represented here formerly; it sat with the Wind, Bear, Wolf, and Bird, but whether it was linked with any or all of them is uncertain.
[32] The association of Aktayatci and Wind seems improbable, but one other case of the kind has been noted (see Pakan tallahassee).
[33] There were very few representatives of these clans in Alabama.
[34] The only representatives of the Wolf clan living in 1913 were descended from the Pascagoula tribe of Indians.
[35] The Bird clan was also represented in this town, but I did not obtain its linkage, though it sat with the Deer.
[35] Sat with 1 but could intermarry with them.
[35] Legus Perryman, probably referring to this town, said that the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Alligator formed one council, a statement which, if true, would bring 1 and 5 together. The late David Hodge, who belonged to Okmulgee, declared that the Bird, Deer, and Aktayatci clans were all related, the women of these clans calling each other "sisters." This was denied by Perryman and seems improbable in the light of what we know of these clans elsewhere, although it is possible that the first two were so connected.

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Apalachicola:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Deer, Mole, Toad.
2. Bird, Snake, Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Beaver, Kapitca.
3. Wind.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Raccoon, Potato.
6. Aktayatci.

Yuchi:
1. Bear, Wolf.
2. Deer, Wind, Skunk, Panther, Wildcat.
3. Alligator, Fish, Beaver.
4. Bird.

Red towns

Coweta (1):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tâmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.

Coweta (2):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver, Wind, Bear.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tâmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.

Lower Eufaula:
1. Wind, Otter, Skunk, Mole, Tcokote, Toad(?).
2. Bear, Nokfaha, Wolf, Salt, Fresh-land, Asunwa.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake, Alligator, Woksi.
4. Bird, Beaver, Tâmi.
5. Deer, Pahosa, Turkey, Panther, Wildcat.
6. Fox, Raccoon, Potato.

Chiaha:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Fox, Aktayatci.
2. Wolf, Bear, Deer(?).
3. Panther.
4. Bird.
5. Wind, Skunk, Fish.
6. Beaver.
7. Alligator, Tâmi.

Osochi:
(All that is known is that the Panther and Wildcat and the Bear and Wolf did not intermarry.)

SEMINOLE TOWNS

White towns

Ochesee:
1. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Otter.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Potato, Bird, Beaver, Raccoon(?).
5. Panther.
6. Deer.

Okfuskee:
1. Bird, Beaver.
2. Bear, Deer, Pahosa, Potato, Raccoon.
3. Alligator, Snake, Kapitca, Aktayatci.
4. Panther.
5. Wind.

Tallahasutci:
1. Beaver, Potato.
2. Tâmi, Alligator, Turkey.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake.
4. Wind (possibly with last).
5. Bear.
6. Bird.
7. Deer, Panther.

Hitchiti Seminole:
1. Wind, Skunk, Otter.
2. Bird, Aktayatci, Snake, Alligator, Tâmi.
3. Deer, Panther, Kohosa (Cane?), Pahosa.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Toad, Tcokote, Mole.
6. Beaver, Potato.

Red towns

Eufaula:
1. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey, Kapitca, Snake, Aktayatci.
2. Deer (probably including the Pahosa).
3. Raccoon.
4. Potato.
5. Panther.
6. Wind.
7. Bear.[38]
8. Bird.[38]

[38] There were a few people of the Bird clan and one belonging to the Bear which had not been definitely placed, perhaps because in recent years no occasion had arisen which demanded definite allocation.

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Chiaha:
1. Wind, Skunk.
2. Raccoon, Fox.
3. Potato.
4. Bird.
5. Bear.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Alligator.
8. Deer.
9. Beaver.

Ŀiwahali:
1. Beaver, Otter, Bird, Turkey, Tâmi, Bear, Salt.
2. Wind.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Potato, Raccoon.[37]
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.

Mikasuki: (Unobtainable.)

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The facts are now before us; let us proceed to an analysis of them. In the following table I have recorded the number of times each association of any two clans takes place, and the number of times any two clans are recorded in each town unassociated. UC stands for "Upper Creeks," A for "Alabama," K for "Koasati," LC for "Lower Creeks," H for "Hitchiti," Y for "Yuchi," and S for "Seminole." To.="Total."

[37] Another informant stated that the Potato and Raccoon clans were anciently classed with the Bird.

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while the Bird people called the Beaver people their "nephews." A saying of one of my informants apropos of this connection should be quoted, to the effect that "anything in contact with water is supposed to be akin to birds." Presumably the birds to which he referred were water birds, since white crane feathers were a symbol of the White clans. Where the Beaver is not linked with the Bird and where it does not stand by itself it is usually placed with the Alligator on account of this same association with water. Altogether it occurs thirteen times with the Alligator, nineteen times with the Bird, and eleven times separated from both. Its associations with other clans are not nearly so pronounced. One of my informants said that the Bird and Beaver "sometimes claimed the Potato were of one phratry with themselves," but this assertion receives comparatively little support from the tables, except perhaps in the case of the Beaver.

While the Panther clan ordinarily stands apart from all others except the Wildcat, in some towns an association exists with the Deer which is evidently more than accidental. Although the number of times this linking takes place totals only 9 as against 23 cases in which it is absent, the important fact is that wherever the Panther is linked with another clan—leaving out of consideration the Wildcat—that clan is almost always the Deer. It may also be significant that this linking is more pronounced among the Hitchiti towns—in three out of four—than elsewhere. This association was also confirmed by an Okchai Indian named Barney Leader, who said: "The story is that Panther and Deer lived together as friends, but at noon Panther jumped upon Deer and killed him. So the Panther and Deer clans are one until noon and after that separate. Until noon the same terms of relationship are extended over both clans." In Texas the Deer is linked with the Wolf instead of with the Panther and this happens twice among the Oklahoma Creeks. In consequence, one or two cases are found in which this clan is associated with the Bear.

The Bear clan usually stands clearly apart from all groups except as already noted. In some Upper Creek towns, however, particularly the group to which Pakan tallahassee, Fish Pond, and Wiwohka belong, there is an association with the Bird and Beaver, the Bear-Bird association occurring seven times out of twenty-one among the Upper Creeks and the Bear-Beaver five times out of twenty. This association is to be explained, I think, by the fact that these clans were all White clans. Although not even hinted by any of my informants, material which I collected from the Alabama and Koasati Indians in Texas and Louisiana seems to suggest a repugnance to marriage between persons of the Bear and Panther clans.

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The Alabama have a town in Polk County, Texas, with scattering representatives throughout southeastern Louisiana, while the Koasati have a town in Louisiana, but a few relatives living with the Texas Alabama. I was able to secure a very satisfactory statement of the

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clan affiliations of most of these Indians, the testimony of my several informants agreeing very well, and this information is included in the following tables. While there are undoubtedly some omissions, they include, on the other hand, as many deceased members of the two tribes as my informants could recall.

ALABAMA

Clan	Living in Texas	Living in Louisiana	Total
Bear	53	11	64
Daddy-longlegs	42	5	47
Deer	36	6	42
Panther	34	3	37
Beaver	23	1	24
Salt	11	3	14
Wind	9	1	10
Wildcat	5	----	5
Total	213	30	243

KOASATI

Wildcat	6	20	26
Beaver	6	18	24
Turkey	2	19	21
Panther	2	4	6
Wind	4	2	6
Bear	3	1	4
Salt	1	2	3
Deer	----	1	1
Wolf	1	----	1
Alligator	1	----	1
Total	26	67	93

In the Alabama town were also three members of the Wolf clan, but they belonged properly to the old Pascagoula tribe and therefore are not listed. In the Alabama table most of the children are included and in the Koasati table most of them are left out. This accounts in part for the greater apparent population of the Alabama, although, as a matter of fact, the actual figures are somewhat in their favor.

The contrasts between these two tables are rather striking. Thus the three most populous Alabama clans, Bear, Daddy-longlegs, and Deer, are poorly represented among the Koasati, the second of them not at all. The Salt also seems to be rather an Alabama than a Koasati clan. On the other hand, the Wildcat, the leading Koasati clan, is represented by only five persons among the Alabama, and I have reason to believe that they are really Koasati. The Panther clan is very well represented in Texas, and the relationship between it and the Wildcat was considered so close that informants sometimes gave the affiliations of a person as Panther, sometimes as Wild-

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cat. It is now impossible to say whether the Wildcat clan of the Koasati was originally distinct from the Panther clan of the Alabama, or whether the Koasati merely preferred to use the name Wildcat, the Alabama choosing rather that of Panther. The Beaver and Wind are the clans represented most evenly in the two tribes, though the representatives of the Wind among the Koasati are now deceased.

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From the Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas and Louisiana I collected records of 95 marriages, exclusive of some unions between Indians and Negroes. This information is contained in the following list, the clan of the male being placed first. Individuals of the Koasati tribe are distinguished by the letter (K), and those of the Pascagoula tribe by the letter (P). The rest are Alabama.

Bear–Daddy-longlegs	5	
Daddy-longlegs–Bear	4	
		9
Deer–Bear	4	
Bear–Deer	2	
		6
Bear–Beaver	4	
Bear–Beaver (K)	1	
Beaver (K)–Bear (K)	1	
		6
Turkey (K)–Beaver (K)	5	
Beaver (K)–Turkey (K)	1	
		6
Turkey (K)–Wildcat (K)	4	
Wildcat (K)–Turkey (K)	2	
		6
Deer–Beaver	1	
Deer–Beaver (K)	1	
Beaver (K)–Deer	3	
		5
Deer–Panther	3	
Panther–Deer	1	
		4
Deer–Daddy-longlegs	2	
Daddy-longlegs–Deer	2	
		4
Bear–Wind	2	
Bear–Wind (K)	2	
		4
Beaver (K)–Wildcat (K)	1	
Wildcat (K)–Beaver (K)	3	
		4
Beaver–Salt	2	
Salt (K)–Beaver (K)	2	
		4
Beaver–Daddy-longlegs	2	
Daddy-longlegs–Beaver	1	
		3
Wind–Panther	2	
Wind (K)–Panther	1	
		3
Panther–Turkey (K)	1	
Panther (K)–Turkey (K)	1	
		2
Deer–Wind	1	
Wind (K)–Deer	1	
		2
Panther (K)–Beaver (K)	1	
Panther–Beaver (K)	1	
		2
Wolf (P)–Wind	1	
Wolf (K)–Wind (K)	1	
		2
Bear–Turkey (K)	1	
Turkey (K)–Bear (K)	1	
		2
Salt–Wildcat (K)		2
Daddy-longlegs–Panther (K)		1
Deer–Alligator (K)		1
Wildcat (K)–Deer		1
Wolf (P)–Panther		1
Bear–Wildcat (K)		1
Wolf (P)–Daddy-longlegs		1
Wolf (P)–Bear		1
Salt–Wind		1
Salt–Turkey (K)		1
Daddy-longlegs–Turkey (K)		1
Beaver (K)–Lost Beaver (K)		1
Panther–Panther		1
Wildcat (K)–Wildcat (K)		1
Bear–Bear		1
Daddy-longlegs–Daddy-longlegs		1
Deer–Choctaw		2
Choctaw–Bear		2
		95

This includes 42 marriages in which both individuals were Alabama Indians, 25 in which both were Koasati, 20 between Alabama and Koasati, 4 between Alabama and Pascagoula, and 4 between Alabama and Choctaw.

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Excluding unions with Choctaw, the number of marriages into which each clan entered is as follows:

Beaver	31	Panther	14
Bear	30	Wind	12
Deer	23	Salt	8
Daddy-longlegs	20	Wolf	5
Turkey	18	Alligator	1
Wildcat	15		

It will now be instructive to ascertain how the marriages of each clan were distributed among the other clans, and this is shown by the following tables:

Beaver–Bear	6 (A, K, A–K)
Beaver–Turkey	6 (K)
Beaver–Deer	5 (A, A–K)
Beaver–Wildcat	4 (K)
Beaver–Salt	4 (A, K)
Beaver–Daddy-longlegs	3 (A)
Beaver–Panther	2 (K, A–K)
Beaver–Lost Beaver	1 (K)
Beaver–Wind	0
Beaver–Wolf	0
Beaver–Alligator	0
	31

Bear–Daddy-longlegs	9 (A)
Bear–Deer	5 (A)
Bear–Beaver	6 (A, K, A–K)
Bear–Wind	4 (A, A–K)
Bear–Turkey	2 (K, A–K)
Bear–Wildcat	1 (A–K)
Bear–Wolf	1 (A–P)
Bear–Bear	1 (A)
Bear–Panther	0
Bear–Salt	0
Bear–Alligator	0
	30

Deer–Bear	6 (A)
Deer–Beaver	5 (A, A–K)
Deer–Panther	4 (A)
Deer–Daddy-longlegs	4 (A)
Deer–Wind	2 (A, A–K)
Deer–Alligator	1 (A–K)
Deer–Wildcat	1 (A–K)
Deer–Turkey	0
Deer–Salt	0
	23

Daddy-longlegs–Bear	9 (A)
Daddy-longlegs–Deer	4 (A)
Daddy-longlegs–Beaver	3 (A)
Daddy-longlegs–Panther	1 (A–K)
Daddy-longlegs–Wolf	1 (A–P)
Daddy-longlegs–Turkey	1 (A–K)
Daddy-longlegs–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A)
Daddy-longlegs–Wildcat	0
Daddy-longlegs–Wind	0
Daddy-longlegs–Salt	0
Daddy-longlegs–Alligator	0
	20

Turkey–Beaver	6 (K)
Turkey–Wildcat	6 (K)
Turkey–Panther	2 (K, A–K)
Turkey–Bear	2 (K, A–K)
Turkey–Salt	1 (A–K)
Turkey–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A–K)
Turkey–Deer	0
Turkey–Wind	0
Turkey–Wolf	0
Turkey–Alligator	0
	18

Wildcat–Turkey	6 (K)
Wildcat–Beaver	4 (K)
Wildcat–Salt	2 (A–K)
Wildcat–Deer	1 (A–K)
Wildcat–Bear	1 (A–K)
Wildcat–Wildcat	1 (K)
Wildcat–Daddy-longlegs	0
Wildcat–Panther	0
Wildcat–Wind	0
Wildcat–Wolf	0
Wildcat–Alligator	0
	15

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Panther–Deer	4 (A)
Panther–Wind	3 (A, A–K)
Panther–Turkey	2 (K, A–K)
Panther–Beaver	2 (K, A–K)
Panther–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A–K)
Panther–Wolf	1 (A–P)
Panther–Panther	1 (A)
Panther–Bear	0
Panther–Wildcat	0
Panther–Salt	0
Panther–Alligator	0
	14

Wind–Bear	4 (A, A–K)
Wind–Panther	3 (A, A–K)
Wind–Deer	2 (A, A–K)
Wind–Wolf	2 (K, A–P)
Wind–Salt	1 (A)
Wind–Beaver	0
Wind–Daddy-longlegs	0
Wind–Wildcat	0
Wind–Turkey	0
Wind–Alligator	0
	12

Salt–Beaver	4 (A, K)
Salt–Wildcat	2 (A–K)
Salt–Wind	1 (A)
Salt–Turkey	1 (A–K)
Salt–Bear	0
Salt–Deer	0
Salt–Daddy-longlegs	0
Salt–Panther	0
Salt–Wolf	0
Salt–Alligator	0
	8

Wolf–Wind	2 (K, A–P)
Wolf–Panther	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Bear	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Beaver	0
Wolf–Deer	0
Wolf–Wildcat	0
Wolf–Turkey	0
Wolf–Salt	0
Wolf–Alligator	0
	5

Alligator–Deer	1 (A–K)

The data regarding the Wolf and Alligator clans is, of course, of no particular significance owing to the small numbers of representatives of each of these clans and the fact that three of the Wolf clan were Pascagoula Indians. Elsewhere there is an intimation that the Bear, Salt, and Wind may have belonged to the same phratry or clan moiety, and this is to some extent borne out by the above data, only one marriage between individuals of these clans—Salt and Wind—being given. However, the material would seem to indicate a feeling of repugnance to marriage between the Bear, Panther, and Wildcat. That the Panther and Wildcat were considered practically equivalent clans is certain, but it is not often that the Bear is found associated with these. In fact, were it not for the tables I should have had no suspicion of it, nothing of the kind having been suggested by any of my informants. The data bears out their contention that prohibition of intermarriage existed between the Deer and Wolf, the Panther and Wildcat, and the Bear and Salt, although it is too small in amount to be satisfactory. There is now no Skunk clan, and therefore we can not test native opinion that the Skunk and Wind were similarly allied. On the other hand the association which they declare to have existed between the Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, and Turkey is certainly no longer in evidence.

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I have now touched upon practically all of the more important associations that can be shown with any certainty to have been established between Creek clans. Many others are recorded in my

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the same dual division as the other Creeks, but it is now entirely forgotten. In later years, at all events, the men and women played against each other in the two-goal game, something unheard of among the Creeks proper and due without doubt to an entire breakdown of the ancient customs. I was also told that when the men did play against each other the Daddy-longlegs, Bear, and Deer "stood" the other clans. This, however, I believe to have been another modern device, and a suggestion of something more primitive is contained in the statement of one of my oldest informants to the effect that the fathers of the Bear, Salt, and Wind clans always played against the sons of those clans. The others, including evidently the men of those three clans, "divided up any way." The suggestiveness about this lies in the fact that among the Creeks the Bear, Salt, and Wind are usually considered White clans.

As mentioned above, in the tcitahaia or "feather dance" eagle and buzzard feathers were carried by the Tciloki dancers and white crane feathers by those from White clans.

GENERAL REMARKS

Some general considerations are to be appended regarding the functions of Creek clans and clan aggregates and the customs connected with them. One of my informants remarked that "clans have everything to do with marriage," yet it is evident from what has been said above that in practically none of the towns were all of the exogamous groups identical with single clans. Another asserted that persons of the same clan in unrelated towns could marry, while if the towns were considered branches of one group they could not. This was, however, flatly denied by everyone else, all maintaining that marriage into the clan of the mother was absolutely prohibited, no matter whether the persons concerned belonged to the same town or lived hundreds of miles apart. Marriage into the father's clan was also held in disfavor, and it was said of a man who had done this, "He has fallen into his own [sofki] pot." This regulation was observed by the Texas Alabama as well as the Creeks proper. In ancient times the prohibition may have been more rigorous; later it covered only blood relatives in the father's clan. The assertion is made that marriage was prohibited with anyone related by blood, whether they belonged to the clans of the parents or not. According to some this took in all such persons with whom relationship could still be recognized; according to others it merely extended to the third degree. Such an extension might indeed have been anticipated from the fact that all children of men of the father's clan were called brothers and sisters and the individuals so designated might belong to any exogamous group throughout the tribe. It is said that a man was allowed to marry a woman of another town belonging

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to a clan into which he could not marry in his own town, provided that marriage between the clans was allowed in the town to which she belonged. As indicated already, there is no clear evidence that the great dual divisions were ever exogamous as a whole.

Before intertribal wars came to an end the Creeks were in the habit of increasing the size of their clans by adopting captives, especially young people of both sexes.

Slavery was not institutional among the southern Indians as it was with those of the north Pacific coast. The older male captives taken in war, and sometimes the younger ones, were anciently burned. The women and children, unless killed on the spot, were adopted into the tribe and so were those males whose lives had been spared. At the same time there was certainly some onus attaching to their position which may have lasted through life, though it does not appear to have attached to the second generation. Bartram had a good opportunity to observe the condition of slaves among the Seminole and represents their attitude as most abject and servile, but he adds that their children were "free and considered in every respect equal to themselves."[54] He states in this place that "the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live,"[54] but elsewhere he partially contradicts himself to the effect that "all slaves have their freedom when they marry, which is permitted and encouraged, when they and their offspring are every way upon an equality with their conquerors,"[55] and just above we read, "I saw in every town in the Nation [of the Creeks] and Seminoles that I visited, more or less male captives, some extremely aged, who were free and in as good circumstances as their masters."[56]

It must be remembered that at the time of which Bartram speaks the Creeks and Seminole had given up the custom of burning their captives, and therefore many were kept alive among them who had formerly been destroyed. The persistence of this less assimilable body of foreigners and the example of slavery among the whites had probably begun to affect the older institution to some extent. At an earlier date the captives taken in war probably formed a less distinct class and were assimilated more rapidly.

Some of the small clans were regarded as inferiors by the others, and this may have been due in some cases to a slave origin, but I have not recorded so much as a tradition to that effect, and the low esteem in which they were held more likely arose in most cases from the incestuous origin often attributed to them.[58] At various times white people have claimed kinship with certain Creek clans. For obvious reasons they have usually been assigned to a White clan, particularly the Wind.

[54] Bartram, Travels, p. 184.
[55] Ibid., p. 371.
[58] For ranking of clans see pp. 43, 213, 214, 222, and Bull. 73, p. 370.

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Clanship had an important influence on the relations between men, extending into the smallest matters of everyday life, and much of Creek etiquette was based upon it. Thus a Creek could tell by the attitude of any two members of his tribe toward each other—whether they joked with one another and so on—in what manner they were related. Persons having parents of the same clan used to joke with each other. This "joking relationship" thus included the entire clan of the mother; it also included all of those whose fathers belonged to one's own father's clan and according to Jackson Lewis it included one's own father's father and those women who had married into the father's clan. It was etiquette to talk disparagingly of one's own clan, even in the presence of other members of it, what was said being understood in a contrary sense. On the other hand one must always back up his father's clan and those belonging to it and must speak well of it and of them.

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A similar etiquette extended to objects connected with the clan, particularly the animal from which it was named. I was told that if a person killed a totem animal the people belonging to the clan from which it derived its name would compel him to make them a payment. A man of the Bird clan would say to one who had been shooting birds, "You have killed my parents; you will have to pay me for it," and the other would give him something. The duty of a member of the Wind clan to protect the skunk and rabbit from injury and ridicule has already been mentioned.[56a]

Speaking of the Indians of Tuskegee town, Speck says:

"As descent is traced back to the totem animal itself, it is considered wrong for a man to kill or eat an animal having the form of his totem, as it would be the same as eating his own human relations. Such offenders are nowadays punished by fines which have to be paid to those of his clan who catch him in the act. Furthermore, should one person ridicule or belittle another's totem, he is likely to be taken and fined for wrongdoing by the offended clan. The fine is believed to appease the totem."[57]

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Although the infliction of fines is here spoken of as modern, my own information is to the effect that these observances have, in recent years, been viewed as subjects for jest rather than matters worthy of serious consideration, and it appears that animal names were matters of jest as far back as Adair's time.[58] The custom must certainly have been little more than formal in some cases; otherwise the Deer and Bear clans would have been obliged to abstain from meat almost entirely and the rest of the nation would have been under constant tribute to them. The late Chief Grayson informed me that upon one occasion he killed a fawn and made a cap out of

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[56a] See p. 112. [57] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 118.
[58] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 18.

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its skin for one of his sons. Afterwards he met a man of the Deer clan who took him to task for this but was finally mollified by the assurance that it was so used, not out of disrespect, but because it was held in honor. A man was also supposed to see that proper respect was paid to the totem animal of his father's clan. An instance was related to me in which a man was called to account for having killed a wolf, by another man whose father belonged to the Wolf clan. It is from this clan association that the Creeks applied terms of relationship to animals. According to one informant the Bird people called the buzzards, and all other kinds of birds in fact, "my father," and he added that this form of address was usual with other clans. It is, however, more likely that the term given by way of illustration was applied by persons whose fathers were from the Bird clan. If they themselves had been Birds they would probably have said "my uncle."[48a]

There appears not to have been the slightest objection to killing totem animals from veneration for them as such, and this was just as true in Adair's time. He says:

"The Indians, however, bear no religious respect to the animals from which they derive the names of their tribes, but will kill any of the species, when opportunity serves. The *wolf* indeed, several of them do not care to meddle with, believing it unlucky to kill them; which is the sole reason that few of the Indians shoot at that creature, through a notion of spoiling their guns . . . though, at the same time, they are so far from esteeming it a deity, they reckon it the most abominable quadruped of the whole creation."[49]

We should perhaps add to this a taboo against killing the rattlesnake, but there appears not to have been the least connection between their unwillingness to kill this reptile and its eponymous character, and indeed the name of Snake clan is not certainly known to have applied specifically to the rattlesnake.[50]

When a formal council was opened in the tcokofa Bartram says that the tobacco used was brought in in a skin usually taken from that animal from which the chief's clan derived its name.[51]

The Wind clan formed in some respects a privileged class. I have already mentioned the fact that women of this clan were called "grandmothers" by the other people, and we shall see later that, with the possible exception of the Bear, this was the only clan allowed to take up again the clubs with which adulterers were punished, after they

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[48a] See also pp. 143-148.
[49] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 14.
[50] Consult, however, Bartram, Travels, p. 431; see p. 537 in following paper.
[51] Bartram, op. cit.

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614 had once been laid aside. According to one writer the Wind clan could take them up an indefinite number of times; according to another, four times. This privilege is well remembered. A single writer adds that people of the Bear clan were allowed to take the clubs up twice, but I have been able to learn nothing definite upon the subject from the living Indians. Local privileges connected with the busk ceremonial were, of course, enjoyed by other clans.[62]

In other parts of America clan distinctions are indicated by means of face paintings or tattooings. With the Creeks, however, most of the latter seem to have had to do with war honors. I was told that members of the Raccoon clan painted circles about their eyes, but according to others this was done merely by doctors as a sign that they were able to see in the dark. Paintings used to indicate the towns of the persons using them will be considered presently.[62a]

Another source of information regarding the position of clans in the tribe is still to be tapped, but in order to do this we must first set forth a description of the Creek ceremonial or busk ground, the religious and social center of every Creek community of consequence.

DISTRIBUTION WITH REFERENCE TO THE LAND AND THE TOWN

174 361 614 Both the Creeks and the Texas-Alabama have told me that anciently clans lived apart, and in a Creek story of the origin of corn they are represented as scattered about in a number of different camps. Whether or not the major clans are descended from bodies of people which once lived in separate towns and lacked exogamy the local separation of the clans until very late times is an undeniable fact. I may note here the assertion of one of my oldest and best informants to the effect that in olden times the clans were not exogamous, but that upon one occasion a council was held and it was determined that afterwards they should be considered such. This is interesting as marking the native recognition of such a possibility, not as proving that the change actually took place. The Creek towns in the times when we begin to have knowledge of them consisted of a succession of villages or neighborhoods scattered through the woods and along the streams, and connected by a network of trails. The unit of such a town consisted of a group of houses owned by women of one clan and occupied by themselves, their husbands, and their young children. In practice it worked out something like this. A man, assisted by other members of his family or clan, might build a house in a new situation and clear the usual yard by hoeing up the surface weeds and grass for a considerable space about it. Now, when one of his daughters married her husband, drawn from some other, perhaps distant, locality, would build another house on part of the same

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[62] Cf. also Millett, Mém., p. 255.

[62a] See p. 246.

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cleared space or in the immediate neighborhood where the pair would set up housekeeping. As his other girls married this process was repeated. When the children grew up the girls would continue to occupy the ancestral dwellings, or others erected for them in the neighborhood, while the boys would marry elsewhere. A man might erect and pay for a house and call it "my house," but it was to all intents and purposes the property of his wife. "My house" was a term applied by the Chickasaw to his clan as well as to his habitation.[a] By a Creek male the word which has been translated into English as "home" (hûti) was not bestowed upon the house in which he and his wife lived, even though he might have built it himself, but on the houses in which lived the women of his clan. A woman's hûti, or "home," was indeed her home in our understanding of the term, except that the houses occupied by other women of the same clan were also her homes, but a man's hûti was not usually where he spent most of his adult life, but the home of his mother and the other women of his clan. In case a stranger visited the town and made known to what clan he belonged it was the duty of a man married into that clan to invite him to his house. In this case, although neither he nor his wife had set eyes on the man before, he would say to him "Come to your home (hûti)." This duty of hospitality toward a fellow-clansman often brought men outside of the family proper under the same roof, whether they were welcome or not. Sometimes an old man whose children were grown up, or who for any reason was alone in the world, would travel about from one to another of the houses of his female kin. He would say, "Well, I am going to my home," and make for the house of someone who had never seen him before. In later times this struck the young people as very presumptuous, but it was the old law. In the days before there were hotels, restaurants, old peoples' homes, insurance, etc., it was a very convenient device. It not only served to provide for the old, infirm, and indigent, but enabled the adventurous to travel and see more of the world than would otherwise be possible.

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The best early account of the arrangement of a Creek village and its dwellings, including also the position of the ceremonial grounds with reference to them, is given by Bartram, and I herewith append it along with the sketch accompanying (fig. 1). He says:

"The general position of the Chunk-Yard and Public Buildings of the Creeks, in respect to the dwellings of the Indians themselves, is shown in the following engraved plan:

"*A* is the Rotunda; *B*, the Public Square; *C*, the grand area or Chunky-Yard. The habitations of the people are placed with considerable regularity in streets or ranges, as indicated in the plan.

[a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

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old coverings are never removed. they have, in most of their squares, eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

"The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and south. The centre cabin, on the east side,[84] is always allotted to the beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat. Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The west side [85] is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cooking black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

"Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

"Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

"Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

"If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

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[84] This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

[85] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

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to the traders as the "second men's cabin." The henihálgi always acted as companions, seconds, or lieutenants of the chiefs, and during the busk each principal official must be accompanied by a henihá. It is for this reason that the traders called them "second men." Their origin we will consider later.[e] Probably we can not solve the problem which they present entirely, but it may be mentioned that a class bearing practically the same name existed among the Timucua of Florida and that inihi in that language meant "consort" (husband or wife). For our present purposes it is important to find out what clans in each town—so far as it can be determined—constituted the mikálgi or chiefs, and the henihálgi or second men, and how these and all other clans were seated. Originally the tástánágálgi or warriors seem to have been formed by promotion from all clans, but latterly the name has sometimes become identified with certain particular ones. Taking up first the chiefs and henihas we find the following condition in the different towns:

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Town	Chiefs	Henihas [1]
Tulladega	Bear	Raccoon.
Abihka (near Eufaula)	Raccoon or Bear [2]	Bear or Raccoon (second chief).[3]
Abihka-in-the-West	Panther	Raccoon.
Kan-tcati	Bear	Do.
Otciapofa	Beaver	Wind.
Tulsa Little River	do	Bird.
Tulsa Canadian	do	Beaver (second chief).
Latcapega	do	Bird [4] (Beaver, second chief).
Oktasse	Bird (Bear—J. Lewis)	Bear.
Tutokasita	Bear	Beaver (second chief).
Abihkutcf	do	Bird.
Nuyaka	do	Wind.
Talmutcasi	(1) Bird (2) Raccoon	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Pakan talahassee	(1) Aktayatci (2) (Bear—J. Lewis).	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Wiogufki	(1) Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis); Wind (later); Alligator (later).	Wind; Alligator (later).
Tukpafka	Aktayatci	Panther.
Asilambi	Bear; Raccoon (later)	Wind; Deer (later).
Okchai	Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis) [4]	Bird (Deer).
Lakogalga	Raccoon	Deer (second chief).
Wiwokka	(1) Panther [5] (Bird—J. Lewis) (2) Raccoon.	(1) Wind. (2) Wind.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear [6]	Bear or Wind.[7]
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind (Panther, second chief).
Tukabahchee	Raccoon (Eagle—Hawkins)	Wind.[8]
Atasi	Bear [9]	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.

[1] In some cases the name of the second chief's clan is remembered but the name of the henihá's clan forgotten. At times the two are confounded, and at times they are distinguished. (See p. 287.)

[2] The two clans were said to furnish the chief and second chief alternately.

[3] Logan Perryman seemed to think, however, that a Tcloki clan, perhaps the Aktayatci, furnished the henihas.

[4] Raccoon according to Jackson Lewis and another informant.

[5] Panther according to two informants.

[6] According to Koasati pukala the Tukabahchee use the Deer clan as henihas "during the woman's dance."

[7] The last chief belonged, however, to the Bird clan.

[e] See pp. 289-295.

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Town	Chiefs	Henihas
Łapłiko	(1) Bear	(1) Bird (second chief).
	(2) Raccoon	(2) Bear or Wind.
Łwahali	(1) Panther	(1) Deer.
	(2) Panther	(2) Aktayatci or Fox.
Hilibi	Aktayatci	Alligator, Turkey, and Tâmi.
Upper Eufaula	Aktcyatci (anciently Eagle)	Do.[8]
Alabama	Bear [9]	(1) Aktayatci.
		(2) Alligator, Bird, etc.
Kaŭhita	Bear [10] (Alligator—Gatschet)	Wind (Istani—Hawkins); (Alligator, second chief).
Hitchiti	Bird (Tâmi—Jackson Lewis)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (Deer, in last organization)	Bear (Bird, in last organization).
Yuchi	(Passes from father to son irrespective of clan.)	
Coweta	Fish [11] (Wind)	Bird.[12]
Łfkatcka	Alligator	Wind (Bear, second chief).
Eufaula Hobayi	(1) Kapitcu	(1) Deer (?).
	(2) Bear (second inf.)	(2) Wind (second inf.)
Chiaha	(1) Raccoon, Potato, or Fox	(1) Bear or Deer.
	(2) Bear	(2) Bear.
	(3) Wind	(3) Aktayatci, Potato, Alligator, Tâmi, Raccoon, Fox.
Osochi	(1) Fox (Jim Sapulpa)	(1) Wind (Jim Sapulpa).
	(2) Potato (Tob Tiger)	(2) Panther (Tob Tiger).
Odasse	Beaver	Bird.
Oktuskee Seminole	do	Bird (second chief).
Tallahassee	do	Bird.
Hitchiti Seminole	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula Seminole	Kapitcu	Panther.[13]
Łfwahali Seminole	(1) Bird	(1) Bear.
	(2) Potato	(2) Bird.
Chiaha Seminole	Bear	Wind.[14]
Mikasuki	(1) Alligator	(1) Alligator (Panther, second chief; Potato, third chief).[15]
	(2) Snake (anciently); Panther (later)	(2) Panther (anciently); Alligator (later).

[8] According to Jackson Lewis. Later the Bird clan seems to have occupied this position, though according to some Hilibi people the Wind once performed the function.

[9] One of the last chiefs belonged to the Wind clan.

[10] According to three different informants.

[11] Hawkins and Iqahhiteu (fide Gatschet) both give the Fish, which we may therefore assume to have been the chief's clan in ancient times.

[12] According to both my own informants and those of Doctor Gatschet (Creek Ms. vocab.).

[13] These clans are called tĭstănăgĭgi but take the place of the henihăgi.

[14] See Fig. 98.

Regarding the Texas Alabama I learned the following facts. Within the memory of living Indians the chieftainship has not passed down in a single clan. The first head chief held in remembrance was leader of the tribe before they came to Texas. His name has not been preserved but he was the grandfather of John Scott, the late chief, and he belonged to the Daddy-longlegs clan. The second head chief is remembered as "old man Antone." He belonged to the Bear clan, and the second chief under him was a Tawasa Indian of the Beaver clan named Celestine. Antone was succeeded by the late chief, John Scott, who was of the Deer clan. The second chief under him was formerly John Walker, a Bear.

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By eliminating the Texas Alabama and the doubtful and less well-authenticated material in the above data and reducing all of the towns of each group under one head we obtain the following summary result. Alternative possibilities are in parentheses.

Town	Chief	Henihá
Abihka	Bear	Raccoon.
Tulsa	Beaver	Bird (or Wind).
Okfuskee	Bear	Wind (or Bird).
Pakan tallahassee	Aktayatci (or Bear)	Do.
Wiogufki	Aktayatci	Wind.
Okchai	Bear	Do.
Wiwohka	Panther (or Bird)	Do.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear	Bear or Wind.
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind.
Tukabahchee	Eagle (or Raccoon)	Do.
Atasi	Bear	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.
Łapłáko	Bear	Bird (or Wind).
Hilibi	Aktayatci	Alligator.
Eufaula, Upper	do	Do.
Alabama	Bear	Aktayatci.
Kasihta	do	Wind (or Támi).
Hitchiti	Bird (or Támi or Raccoon)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (or Deer)	Bear (or Bird).
Coweta	Fish (or Wind)	Bird.
Eufaula Hobayi	Kapitca	Deer (or Wind)
Chiaha	Fox or Potato	Bear.
Osochi	do	Wind (or Panther).
SEMINOLE TOWNS		
Ochesee	Beaver	Bird.
Okfuskee	do	Do.
Talihasutci	do	Do.
Hitchiti	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula	Kapitca	Panther (tástánągi).
Iwahali	Bird (or Potato)	Bear (or Bird).
Chiaha	Bear	Wind (tástánągi).
Mikasuki	Alligator (or Snake)	Panther (or Alligator).

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A study of this table yields certain very interesting facts. Taking the henihálgi clans first we find that with few exceptions these come from the White side. The Deer occurs twice, once in Hitchiti and once in Eufaula Hobayi, but in the latter case there is an alternative possibility, while the former applies simply to the last organization of the Hitchiti square. Nevertheless this clan is said to have been used at Tukabahchee as henihálgi during the women's dance. The old woman who gave me the data for Apalchicola said that anciently

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the Hitchiti square was the same as in the Apalchicola town. On the other hand the Seminole Hitchiti had the Toad clan, generally considered akin to the Deer, as their henihâlgi. The Deer was, however, considered a White clan in Chiaha, and Chiaha anciently spoke the Hitchiti language. It is therefore possible that the Deer was once a White clan among Hitchiti-speaking people. Again, the Alligator and their allies were the henihâlgi at Hilibi and Upper Eufaula, perhaps also in the Mikasuki town; indeed an old Mikasuki Indian told me that the Alligator were considered the henihâlgi among all Seminole. While this does not seem to agree with the statements of other Seminole Indians there may nevertheless have been truth in it, since the clans given as henihas among the Seminole are often those which furnished the second chief, and the old organization appears to have fallen to pieces. Possibly the position of the Alligator as henihâlgi may have resulted from the influence exerted by the Eufaula band who formed a considerable body among the Seminole. The Alligator, like the Deer, was also sometimes a White clan, and much more frequently. The Aktayatci are given as henihâlgi among the Alabama by one informant, but the Alabama town is small and the organization badly broken down, and, besides, another informant stated that the Alligator or Bird were the only henihas. Moreover, the Aktayatci in Alabama were said to form part of the same phratry as the Deer which is sometimes White. Only in the Abihka towns have we a well accredited case of a clan of henihas never reckoned among the Whites. But although the Raccoon clan there plainly performed the functions of the henihâlgi one of the very men who gave me the information stated that the south bed was called "bed of the henihâlgi" because the Wind clan sat there, and he added that "it was understood that in every town the Wind clan were the henihâlgi." The chief of the Mikasuki said the same thing. This, of course, can only mean that in the Abihka town there has been a dislocation of the older usage.

An inspection of the table shows the Wind clan mentioned as henihas seventeen times, eight times without qualification. Next stand the Bird, mentioned ten times, and the Bear four times. There can be little doubt that it was the general opinion that the Wind should be henihâlgi, and I am inclined to believe that anciently they were so to a greater extent than at present, but as far back as Hawkins's time we know that they were not henihâlgi in a town as important as Kasihta; perhaps their enjoyment of this dignity was partly theoretical and never carried out in all cases. Nevertheless it is certain that almost invariably the henihâlgi were a White clan, and this I believe once to have been universally the case, for the henihas were associated with peace and sometimes their bed was called the "white or peace cabin."

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Turning to the chiefs, we do not find such a simple proposition. The chief was selected from the Bear clan in 8 and possibly 11 cases, from the Beaver in 4, from the Aktayatci in 3 and possibly 4, from the Raccoon in 2 to 4, the Bird in from 1 to 4, the Fox or Potato in 2 to 3, the Wind in perhaps 3, the Kapitca in 2 cases, and the Fish, Eagle, Panther, Tâmi, Deer, Alligator, and Snake in single cases. The Beaver clan furnished the chiefs in the Tulsa towns and in three Seminole towns which had probably drawn most of their population from the Tulsa towns. The Aktayatci led in Hilibi, Upper Eufaula, Wiogufki, and possibly Pakan tallahassee. The Raccoon is found in two towns traditionally related or closely connected, Tukabahchee and Kealedji, and in Koasati, a near neighbor. The Bird occurs in this position principally in Hitchiti and Hitchiti Seminole, the Wind in the Lower Creek towns, particularly Coweta, and in Tuskegee, the Fox and Potato in the related towns of Chiaha and Osochi, and the Kapitca in Lower Eufaula and in Eufaula Seminole. Of the isolated cases the Eagle is already explained as a branch of or now incorporated with the Raccoon, and in the same way the Fish was an old branch of, or has been incorporated into, the Wind.

The other single cases are all reported from towns that have long given up the busk or which are known to have been reduced very much in numbers and otherwise disorganized. They also occur sometimes where there is disagreement. The Bear clan is the only one that by the number of cases and their distribution suggests a position for the chieftainship similar to that of the Wind for the henihâlgi. This is brought out more strongly by the discovery of several cases in which the Bear has been superseded by some other clan only in recent times. By several early writers we find it stated that the White towns were governed by chiefs and the Red towns by warriors. It is evident that tástánágis were never chiefs of towns; therefore all this statement could mean is that the chiefs of Red towns were drawn from Red clans. Examining our lists we find that, in fact, with two exceptions, all of the White towns about which there is unanimity of opinion were ruled by chiefs drawn from White clans. Of the two exceptions one, Wiogufki, claimed relationship with Eufaula and Hilibi, and is said to have been originally a Red town, while the other, Koasati, has long ceased to have busks, and the organization that is remembered is probably one that was adopted after the older form had been partly given up. There are a few other White towns which some hold to have been ruled by Red clans, but one of them, Wiwohka, was thought to be composed of refugees from all quarters, and it early became reduced and disorganized. Another, Pakan tallahassee, which now has the same head clan as Hilibi, Wiogufki, and Eufaula, has in late years been closely associated with those towns. Finally, Gatschet was told that the miko of Hitchiti was a Raccoon,

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and Jackson Lewis said the same thing. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the influence of Tukabahchee, but it is confessedly difficult to explain. Turning to the Red towns we find that all of them were indeed headed by Red clans except Coweta, Atasi, Łaplâko, Alabama, and one or two Seminole towns. The Seminole towns need not be considered on account of the disturbance which they suffered at the time of the removal to Florida and again in the removal to Oklahoma. Alabama may also be disregarded, as it is well known that it was formerly on the White side, associated with Okchai, and the case of Atasi may be dismissed because only one or two persons know anything about it and the organization as they remember it was evidently very much altered. Coweta and Łaplâko, however, constitute important exceptions which can not so readily be brushed aside. There is reason to believe that the clans known to have held the chieftainship, or related clans of the same side, were long in occupancy of the head position. Nevertheless generally we do have an apparent conformity in leadership between White clans and White towns, and Red clans and Red towns. We know that both chiefs and henihas were changed in recent times owing to the playing out of clans. Originally the chiefs of Okchai were chosen from the Bear and Wind because they are powerful, but later changed to the Raccoon and Deer because they are peaceful. If there were many deaths in a town the circumstance might be attributed to the ruling clan and the clans be changed for better luck.

We now turn to the second point to be determined—the position of the clans in the different beds or arbors. To prepare the ground for this, however, it will be necessary first to indicate the position which the beds occupied in the various towns. Although, as explained above, the names of these varied to some extent I shall call them the chiefs' bed, warriors' bed, henihas' bed, and youths' bed. Originally the women had no seats inside the square but had to content themselves with the rough benches beyond its limits. Adair says that the only women admitted into the Chickasaw[1] teokofa during ceremonials were six "old beloved women" who entered once annually to take part in a certain dance. At other times, however, he states that women could sit on each side of the door. In some few cases it is impossible to distinguish the two, or even the three, last named beds, but this will disturb the general result very slightly. In the following table I indicate these positions for the various towns in accordance with the best information obtainable.

[1] Supposing that the town he was describing was actually Chickasaw'. See p. 500.

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a Creek square it is placed to the north, but in those given by Swan and Adair to the south. Both positions were therefore relatively old, and there is no reason to doubt that the east and west positions may be old also, since the former is decisively characteristic of the Abihka towns while the latter is just as characteristic of the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, and Alabama. The bed of the henihas is on the south side 18 to 28 times, on the north 6 to 10 times, on the east 10 to 12, and on the west once or twice. I doubt the correctness of the cases in which it is reported on the west, but all of the other positions probably occurred. In many cases it is difficult to determine the henihas' bed with certainty, since the name applied to it changed more than that of any other bed and the henihas themselves were frequently seated in the same cabin as the chiefs. The least important of all the beds was that which I have called the youths' bed, also used for visitors, for mixing the medicine, for storing articles, and in later times omitted altogether. This bed, or the space marking its absence, was on the east between 21 and 25 times, on the south 8 to 14 times, on the north 6 to 8 times, and on the west once or twice. One of the last, it should be observed, occurs in one of the extant square grounds. The characteristic positions for these beds were, therefore, west for that of the chiefs, north for that of the warriors, south for the henihas, and east for the youths. However, the warriors' bed was often south or east, the henihas' east or north, and the youths' south. When the chiefs' bed was shifted out of the west it was almost always to the north. There is practically no native explanation for the different positions which the beds occupied in different towns. Big Jack of Hilibi recalled a belief that the chiefs were made to face those they opposed in the ball games, but this would not hold for one-half of the Creek towns.

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The location of the four beds now being determined for each town as closely as the material will permit, let us proceed, using this as a guide, to place the clans in them. In the following table is given as complete a statement of their positions as possible. The capital letters indicate the cardinal point of each bed and the small letters in parentheses whether this belonged to the chiefs, henihas, warriors, or youths.

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)			S(h)	E(w)
Abihka	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)S(h)	E(w)
Abihka-in-the-West	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)	E(w)
Kan-tosti	S(?)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		E(?)
Otciapofa	N(h)	W(c)		W(c)		E(w)
Tulsa Little River	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		N(w)
Lutenpoga	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(—)	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	N(w)(S(h))	
Okfuskee	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)		S(y)	S(y)
Tentoksofka	E(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N, S	N, S
Abihkutci	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka	E(h)	N(c)				
Talmutcasi	W(h)		N(c)			
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	W(w)
Wiogufki	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(S(h))	S(w)	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(—)	S(h), E(w)
Tukpafka	S(h)					W(c)
Asilanabi	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Okchai	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)
Ealogiga	W(c)					W(c)
Wiwohka	N(h)(W(c))	N(h)(—)	N(h)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(S(h))
Tuskegee	W(c)(W(c))	N(h)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h), W(c)(E(w))	N(h), W(c)(—)	
Koasati No. 1	S(c)	S(c)(?)	?	?	?	?
Koasati No. 2	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Tukabatchee	W(c)	W(c)(S(h))	W(c), S(h)(S(h))	S(h)	E(y)	W(c)
Atasi	S(h)(E(y))	W(w)&(E(h))	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	N(c)
Kealedji	W(c)	E(y)	E(y)	E(y)	S(h)	W(c)
Eaplaiko	W(c)	S(h)(W(c))	N(w)	N(w)	E(y)	E(y)
Eiwahali						
Hilibi	E(h?)	E(h?)	E(h?)		W(c)	S(w?)
Upper Eufaula	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	(N(c))S(w)
Eufaula Hobayi	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	(N(h))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h)
Alabama	E(c)	E(c)(W(w))	E(c)		E(c)	E(c)
Kasihta	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti	N(w)	N(w)	W(c)		E(h)	W(c)
Okmulgee	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)
Apalachicola	W(c)(N(w))	W(c)(N(w))	W(c), N(w)(N(w)	E(h)(W(c))	E(h)(W(c))	N(w)(W(c))
Yuchi[1]						
Coweta	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		
Eiatoka	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)	N(w)
Chiaha	(W(c))	W(h)(S(w))	N(w)(W(c))	(S?(w))	(N(h))	W(h)(N?(h))
Osochi	S(h)(S(h))	N(w)(W(c))	S(h)(N(w))	S(h)(—)	W(c)(N(w))	S(h)(—)
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochasee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	N(w)
Okmulgee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Tallahassee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Hitchiti	N(w)	W(c)	W(c)	N(W)(?)		N(w)
Eufaula	S(h)					N(w)
Eiwahali	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(w)	N(h)
Chiaha	W(c)	W(c)	N(w?)	N(w?)	S(h?)	S(h?)
Mikasuki		W?(c)		S?(h)	W(c)	

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayskci	Snake	Potato	Tami
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)	E(w)			
Abihka	S(h)	E(w)				
Abihka-in-the-West	W(c)	W(c)				
Kan-tcati	S(w)	E(h)				
Otciapofa	N(h)	E(w)	W(c)		N(h)	N(h)
Tulsa Little River		N(w)	N(w)		N(w)	
Lutcapoga	(N(w))	N(w)	N(w) and S (h)(S(h))		N(w)	N(w)
Okfuskee	S(y)		S(y)			S(y)
Tcatokofka	N, S	N, S				
Abihkutci	S(y)	S(y)	S(y)		S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka						
Talmutcasi						
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	W(w)	N(c)			S(h)
Wiogufki	S(w)W(c)	E (y), E(w)	W(c)		E(y, w)	S(w)(W (c))
Tukpafka	S(h)					
Asilanabi	S(h)	W(c)	(scattered)		W(c)	S(h)
Okchai		W(c)	S(h)			
Lalogaga		W(c)				
Wiwohka	W(c)(W(c))	E(w)(S(h))	E(w)(—)	W(c)	E(w)	N(h)
Tuskegee	E(w)(N(h), W(c))	(E(w))	N(h)(E(w))		N(h)	
Koasati No. 1	S(?)	?	?			
Koasati No. 2	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)			
Tukabahchee	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)		E(y)	E(y)
Atasi	E(h)		E(h)			
Kealedji	E(y)	W(c)	S(h)		W(c)(S(h))	S(h)
Zapaiko	S(h)	S(h)	W(c) (S(h))		N?(w)(E(y))	E(y)
Ziwahali	E(c)					
Hilibi		S(w?)	W(c)			W(c)
Upper Eufaula	S(w)(N(c))	N(c)	N(c)		S(w)(N(c))	E(h)
Eufaula Hobayi	N(h)	(N(h))	(N(h))		(N(h))	
Alabama			E(c)			
Kasihta	N(w)	S(h)(and N (w))	N(w)(and S (h))		S(h)	N(w)(S (h))
Hitchiti	N(w)		E(h)			
Okmulgee	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	
Apalachicola	W(c), N(w) (W(c))			E(h)	E(h), N(w), W(c)	
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta	S(h)		S(h)		S(h)	S(h)
Likatska	N(w)		S(h)			
Chiaha	N(w)(S(w))	S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))		S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))
Osochi	N(w)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(—)		W(c)(W(c))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochesee	N(w)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	
Okfuskee	N(w)	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	W(c)	
Tallahassutci	N(w)		S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	N(w)
Hitchiti						
Eufaula	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)	
Ziwahali	S(w)		S(w)	S(w)		
Chiaha		N(w?)	S(h?)		N(w?)	
Mikasuki	W(c), N(w)				W(c), N(w)	

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Turkey	Paboea	Kapitca	Wildcat	Wolf	Mole
Talladega						
Abihka						
Abihka-in-the-West						
Kan-tcati						
Otciapofa		N(h)				
Tulsa Little River	N(w)	N(w)				
Lutcapoga						
Okfuskee	S(y)					
Tcatokcofka	N, S					
Abihkutci				S(y)		
Nuyaka						
Talmutcasi						
Pakan tallahassee	S(h)			N(c)		
Wiogufki	S(w) W(c)					
Tukpafka						
Asilanabi	S(h)					
Okchai						
Łalogilga						
Wiwohka		W(c)		W(c)		
Tuskegee						
Koasati No. 1						
Koasati No. 2						
Tukabahchee	E(y)					
Atasi						
Kealedji	S(h)				E(h)	
Łapilka	E(y)	E(y)		S(h)		
Łiwahali						
Hilibi	W(c)					
Upper Eufaula	E(h)					
Eufaula Hobayi			W(c)		(N(h))	
Alabama						
Kasihta				N(w)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti						
Okmulgee				N(w)	W(c)	
Apalachicola			E(h)	(W(c))	(N(w))	E(h) (W(c))
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta						
Łikatcka						
Chiaha					(S(w))	
Osochi			(N(w))	N(w) (S(h))	N(w) (S(h))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochesee			S(h)		W(c)	
Okfuskee		N(w)	N(w)			
Tallahassutci	N(w)		S(h)			
Hitchiti						
Eufaula			W(c)			
Łiwahali		N(h)	S(w)			
Chiaha						
Mikasuki						

[1] The mating is not by clans.

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Town	Skunk	Fox	Eagle	Wolf	Miscellaneous
Talladega					
Abihka					
Abihka-in-the-West					
Kan-tcati					
Otciapofa					
Tuba Little River			S(h)		
Lutcapoga			S(w)		N(h) (Tcowastá)
Okfuskee					
Tcatokofka			W(c)		
Abihkutci	E(h)	S(y)	S(y)		
Nuyaka					
Talmutcasi					
Pakan tallahassee					
Wiogufki					
Tukpafka					
Asilanabi					
Okchai					
Ilalogilga					
Wiwohka	N(h)				
Tuskegee					
Kosati No. 1					
Kosati No. 2					
Tukabahchee	W(c)(?)				
Atasi					
Kealedji		N(w)		S(h)	N(w) (Cane and Lidjami)
Laplako					
Liwahali					
Hilibi					
Upper Eufaula					
Eufaula Hobayi		(N(h))			
Alabama		N(w)			(W(c)(S(h)) (Fish)
Kasihta					
Hitchiti					
Okmulgee		S(h)			
Apalachicola					W(c) (Toad(?))
Yuchi [1]					
Coweta					
Ilikatcka					
Chiaha	(W(c))	S(c)N(h)			(W(c)) (Fish)
Osotci		W(c)(—)			
SEMINOLE TOWNS					
Ochesee					S(h) (Otter)
Okfuskee					
Tallahasutci					
Hitchiti					S(h) (Toad and Tcokota)
Eufaula					
Liwahali					
Chiaha					
Mikasuki					W(c) (Otter)

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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The following charts contain all the information that I have been able to obtain regarding the arrangement of the different square grounds, both from my own inquiries and from the writings of earlier investigators. They are of very unequal value and leave much to be desired, but represent about all that it is now possible to find out. In some cases I have given several charts based on the information of a

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Figure 98 is an outline of this square as it existed in 1912.

Plate 2, *a*, gives a general view of the ground from the southwest; Plate 6, *a*, shows the West or Chiefs' bed from the southern end; Plate 6, *b*, is a view taken through the center of the square from the south; and Plate 6, *c*, shows the permanent parts of some of the surrounding camps.

Figure 99 is based on information furnished by the miko of Mikasuki, who stated that before the white people and the Coweta Indians burned their square, back in the east, the clans occupied certain definite seats, but they do so no longer. Besides the chiefs mentioned in the plan there is a third belonging to the Potato clan and presumably sitting with them.

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Figure 100 shows the same ground. The items entering into the sketch are from several different informants.

The plan of the Mikasuki square ground as I found it in 1912 appears in Figure 101.

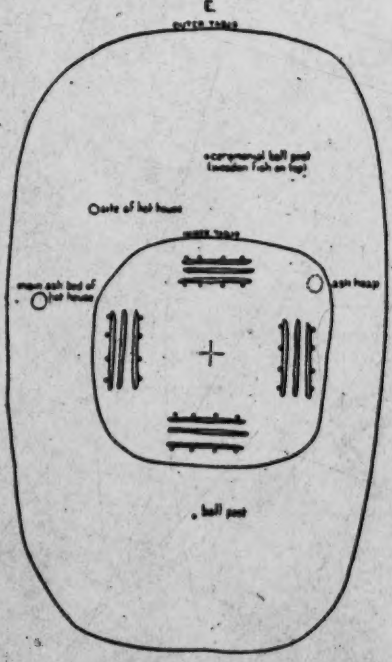

FIG. 37.—Okchai Ceremonial Ground in 1912

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From Swan's description of the Creek square already given we learn that that part of a bed occupied by a certain clan was marked with a painting of the clan animal.[6] Adair states that the clans had symbols or signatures but he does not connect them with the square grounds.[7] He informs us, however, that clan marks were associated with the burial scaffolds of the Choctaw,[8] and he describes at some length the paintings he had seen about several other squares, though without mentioning that any of these referred to clans. His account is as follows:

"I have seen in several of the Indian synhedria, two white painted eagles carved out of poplar wood, with their wings stretched out, and

[6] See p. 322. [7] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 15. [8] Ibid., p. 184.

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raised five feet off the ground, standing at the corner, close to their red and white imperial seats; and, on the inner side of each of the deep-notched pieces of wood, where the eagles stand, the Indians frequently paint, with a chalky clay, the figures of a man, with buffalo horns—and that of a panther, with the same colour; . . . an established custom, both religious and martial, among them . . . obliges them to paint those sacred emblems anew, at the first fruit-offering or the annual expiation of sins. Everyone of their war-leaders must also make three successful *wolfish campaigns*, with their reputed holy

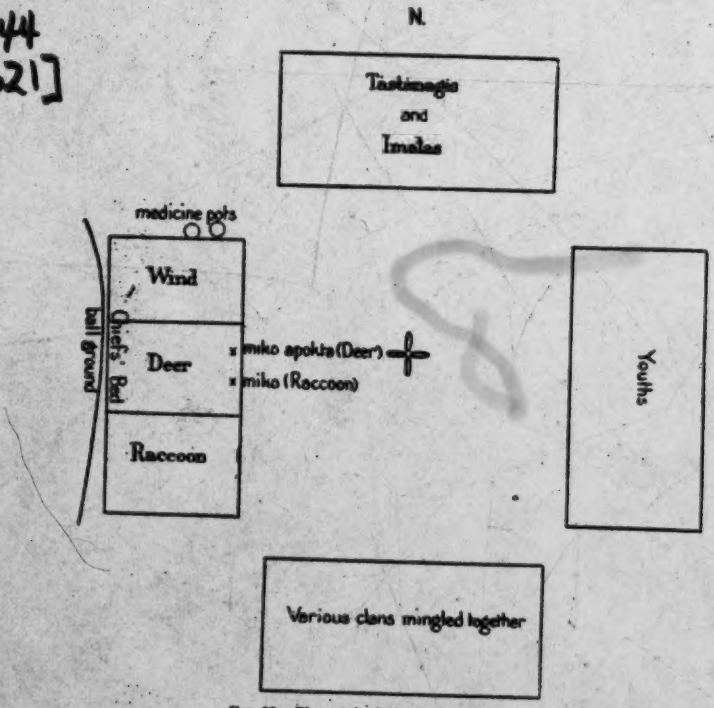

FIG. 38.—Plan of the Lalogilga Square Ground

ark, before he is permitted to wear a pair of a young buffalo-bull's horns on his forehead, or to sing the triumphal war song, and to dance with the same animal's tail sticking up behind him, while he sings *Yo Yo*, etc. . . .

"Near to the red and white imperial seats, they have the representation of a full moon, and either a half moon, or a breast-plate, raised five or six feet high at the front of the broad seats, and painted with chalky clay; sometimes black paintings are intermixed."[9]

[9] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 30-31.

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We will now summarize the seatings of each clan:

Clan	Chiefs' bed	Henihas' bed	Warriors' bed	Youths' bed
Wind	22	20	4	1
Bear	30	11	8	1
Bird	22	12	6	1
Beaver	17	10	5	1
Alligator	11	18	5	5
Deer	10	11	15	3
Panther	10	12	16	3
Raccoon	13	8	11	1
Aktayatci	8	18	8	2
Snake	1	6	1	
Potato	9	9	8	4
Tami	2	— 10	3	4
Turkey	1	4	3	3
Pahosa	1	2	2	2
Kapitca	2	4	4	
Wildcat	3	2	3	1
Wolf	3	2	3	1
Mole	1	2		
Skunk	2	2		
Fox	2	3	2	1
Eagle	1	2		1
Woksi		1		
Teowasta			1	
Fish	2	1		
Toad		1	1	
Otter	1	1		
Tookote		1		
Reed (Cane)			1	
Lidjami			1	

The distribution of the smaller clans in the above table agrees very well with that of the larger ones with which they are linked. The principal discrepancies are due to the fact that when the chief was selected from a certain clan that clan moved over in a body into the Chief's bed, and therefore in some cases, in the Raccoon group for instance, the leading clan appears to have been seated in the Chief's bed many more times proportionately than most of the other clans of the phratry.

Turning to the nine first clans, which are representative of the leading Creek phratries, we find that the White clans are found oftenest in the Chief's bed, and next in frequency in the bed of the Henihas, while comparatively seldom are they seated in the beds of the Warriors or Youths. It is to be observed that both the Chiefs' bed and that of the Henihas are frequently spoken of as "White beds," but the former is occupied by White clans more often than the

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latter. This is partly due, no doubt, to the great reduction in numbers which the towns have suffered and the practical abandonment of the Youths' bed, making it necessary to find seats for all of the clans in the three remaining beds. The Warriors' bed, too, does not appear to have been occupied anciently by clans as such, except perhaps the rear rows. In front were the tástánágálgi and imalálgi, who originally owed their positions to exploits in war and were drawn from various clans. In later times these dignities became to a certain extent hereditary, associated with certain clans, and the bed was occupied by clans in the same way as the other beds. It may be said, speaking generally, that the clan of the chief sat in the Chiefs' bed, and when a chief was selected from a new clan that clan moved over into that bed. There are a few cases to the contrary but this is what usually took place. The natural position of a clan is therefore best determined by studying its position when the chief belonged to some other clan. Bearing this in mind an inspection of the arrangement of the square grounds shows plainly that the proper position of the White clans is usually held to be in the beds of the Chiefs and the Henihas. And it is worthy of remark that most of those towns in which these clans appear in the Warriors' bed were of the Hitchiti group, indicating that a somewhat different arrangement obtained there. The Beaver clan is usually identified with, and seated with, the Bird everywhere except in Otciapofa and the Tulsa towns where it was generally the clan of the chief. The Alligator and Aktayatci occur more often in the Henihas' bed than anywhere else. The former is sometimes White, which perhaps accounts in part for its presence here and in the Chiefs' bed; the Aktayatci, however, is always Tciloki and is so much associated with war that the clan is considered—probably as a later development—identical with the tástánágálgi, in Łikatcka and Lutcapoga. This accounts for some

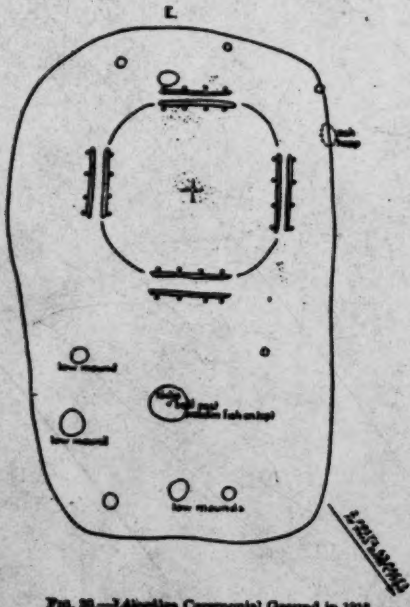

FIG. 20.—Alligáliga Ceremonial Ground in 1913

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of the times when it appears in the Warriors' bed. It appears in the Chiefs' bed several times because the chiefs of the Eufaula towns, Hilibi, Wiogufki, and perhaps Pakan tallahassee, were taken from it.

The Alligator also appears many times in the Chiefs' bed. It is to be noted that when the Aktayatci were chiefs the Alligator were frequently henihas, and in consequence were sometimes taken into the Chiefs' bed. The Alligator were also henihas in Kasihta and were there taken into the Chiefs' bed for the same reason. In some other towns they were partly in the Chiefs' bed and partly in that of

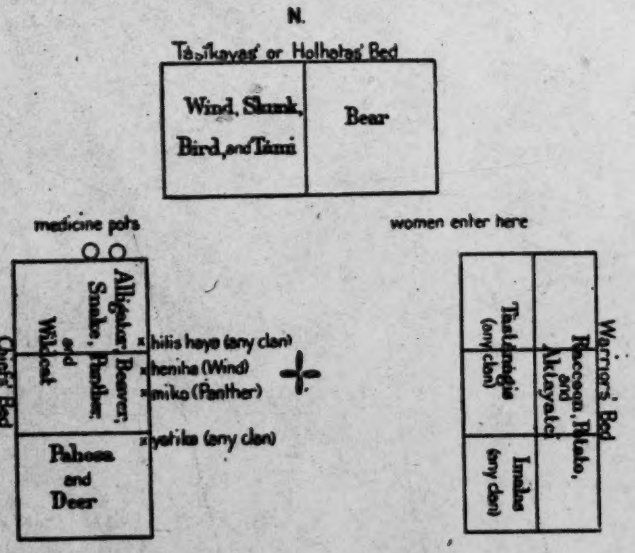

FIG. 68.—Plan of the Wiwukha Square Ground (I)

the Henihas. The Raccoon clan is the only Tciloki clan found more often in the Chiefs' bed than in any other. This position it occupies in Tukabahchee, Kealedji, the Okchai towns, Upper Eufaula, two Seminole towns, Kossati, two Abihka towns, and, according to two informants, in Chiaha and Osochi. Its position in the last two was probably due to the fact that it is identified with the Potato and Fox, to which the town chiefs there belonged. The others are all Upper Creek towns, constituting two geographical groups, the Abihka and the towns on Tallapoosa River. These Raccoon people are

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found more often in the Warriors' bed than in that of the Henihas or Youths, and that is undoubtedly due to the fact that the clan is Red. In one or two cases it is said that the Raccoon clan were the tástánagis. They were in the Warriors' bed particularly in the Abihka and Tulsa towns. The only clans found oftener in the Warriors' bed than in any other are the Deer and Panther, rather singular companions one would think, but perhaps explacable on psychological grounds already given,[19] although it is more likely that the association has a

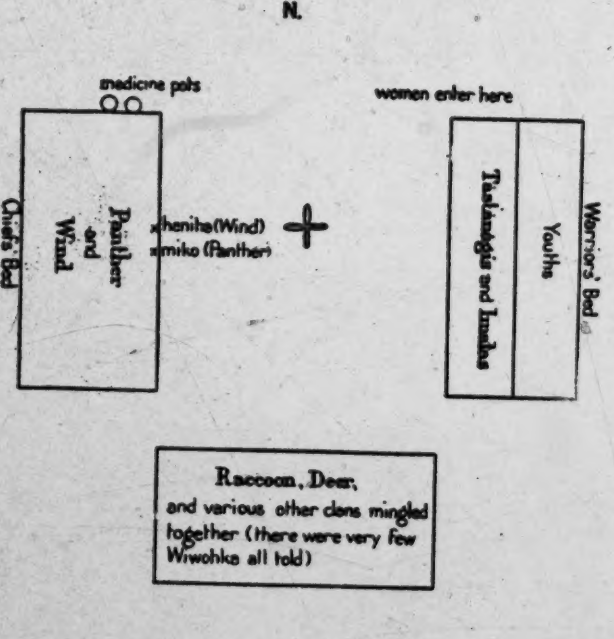

FIG. 41.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (II)

historic basis now long forgotten. As in other cases the Panther and Deer sometimes furnish chiefs or henihas and are consequently found in the Chiefs' bed. They occur in the Henihas' bed more often. In the Okfuskee towns they are squeezed into the Youths' bed, owing to the large size of the White clans. In the Abihka towns, where the Warriors' bed is to the east, the Deer are uniformly placed there, while the Panther appear in the Henihas' bed. In Pakan tallahassee the Deer are again in the Warriors' bed and are specifically called tástánagálgi, while the Panther is taken into the

[19] See p. 149.

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Chiefs' bed. In the Okchai towns, Tukpafka, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Koasati, Kealedji, and Hilibi these clans are found, however, either in the Chiefs' bed or in the bed of the Henihas. Often they are separated and sometimes one is placed in the Youths' bed. The separation occurs more often, however, when the Deer is placed in the Chiefs' bed, the Panther being in the Henihas' bed. The Deer are said to have been taken into the Chiefs' bed at Tukabahchee

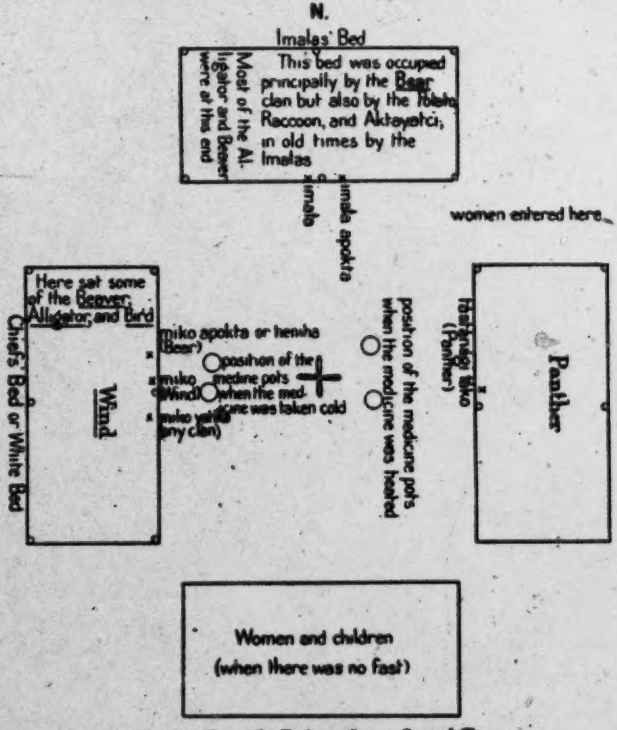
N.
Imalas' Bed
This bed was occuped principally by the Bear clan but also by the Potato, Raccoon, and Aktayatci, in old times by the Imalas
Most of the Alligator and Beaver were at this end
imalas
imalas apokta
women entered here
Here sat some of the Beaver, Alligator, and Bird
Chiefs' Bed or White Bed
Wind
miko apokta or henihe (Bear)
position of the medicine pots when the medicine was taken cold
position of the medicine pots when the medicine was heated
Panther
Women and children (when there was no fast)

Fig 42.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (I)

because they formed "a choice clan." In Seminole towns the Panther and Deer are almost always placed in the bed of the Warriors.

The important points regarding the nine leading clans brought out by this table are that the White clans—Wind, Bear, Bird, and Beaver—were seated most often in the Chiefs' bed and next to that most frequently in the bed of the Henihas; the Raccoon clan was seated oftenest in the Chiefs' bed and next to that in the Warriors bed; the Alligator and Aktayatci clans were seated most often in the Henihas' bed; and the Panther and Deer clans most often in the Warriors' bed.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

101
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with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13]

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Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace,

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[344]

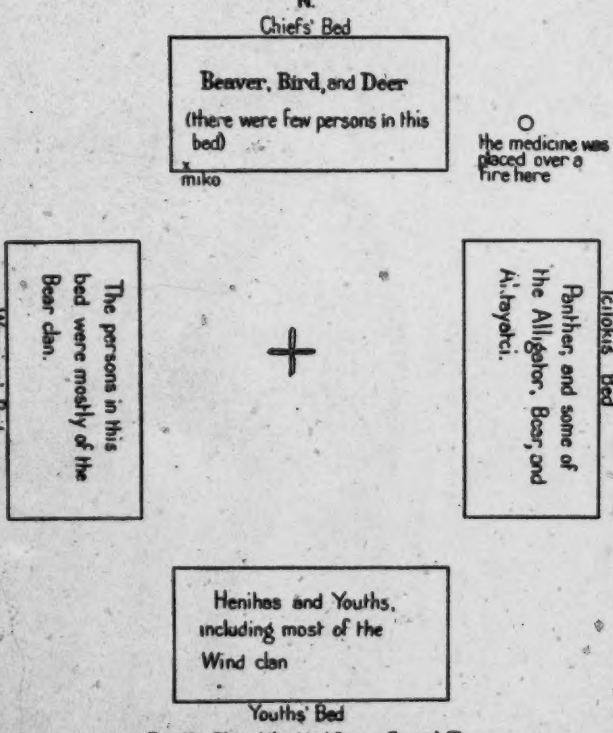
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Beaver, Bird, and Deer
(there were few persons in this bed)
x
miko
O
the medicine was placed over a fire here
Warriors' Bed
The persons in this bed were mostly of the Bear clan.
Tcilokis Bed
Panther, and some of the Alligator, Bear, and Ai'isayaki.
Henihas and Youths, including most of the Wind clan
Youths' Bed

FIG. 50.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to have been some sort of association between White clans and White towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to

[614]
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619
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[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 26.

[13a] See pp. 196-197.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

whom they had temporarily united. With Kasihta there came to be associated all of the Hitchiti-speaking towns—except Chiaha and Osochi—the Yuchi, and even the Chickasaw, while among the Upper Creeks, the Okchai, Tuskegee, Koasati, and—originally—the Alabama were White. To these the Pakan tallahassee should perhaps be added. The number of White towns was also augmented by the splitting up of Coosa into Okfuskee and its branches, Otciapofa and

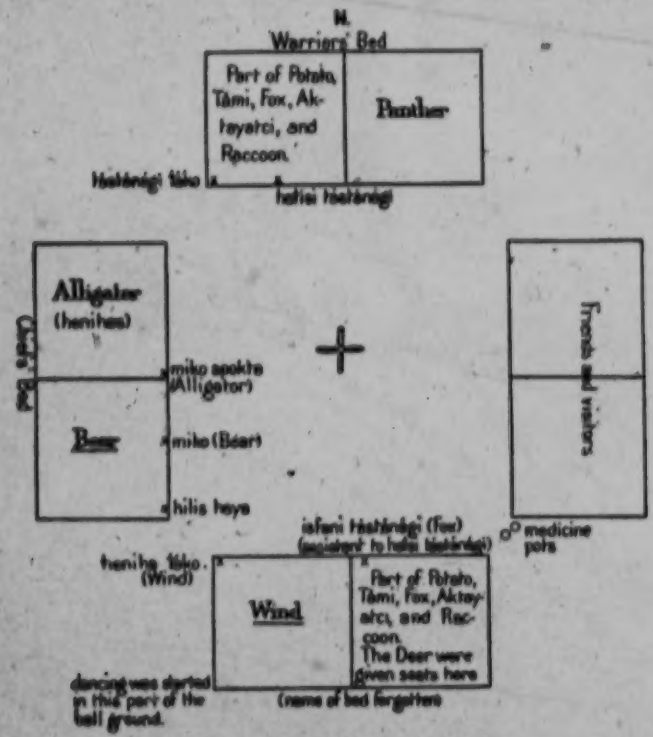

FIG. 70.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (III)

the Tulsa towns, while it is probable that the Wakokai towns came from these or from the Abihka.

Along with the introduction of foreign elements we should look for greater clan complexity, and this, as has already been indicated, we seem to find. Of course, the appearance and disappearance of clans need have nothing to do with outside elements, but where we observe an association between certain clans and such elements the suggestion that the association is more than accidental naturally arises. In any event such associations are worth noting for their

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

possible bearing on future investigations. Thus the Mole, Toad, Tcokote, and Snake clans are found associated most closely with the Hitchiti-speaking communities, and with the Seminole settlements, which are known to have contained a considerable Hitchiti element. The Kapitca and Pahosa, which are especially prominent among the Seminole, may have had a similar origin. The Salt and Daddy-longlegs clans are similarly associated with the Alabama, the Eagle, Woksi, and Lidjami with the Tukabahchee and related towns and

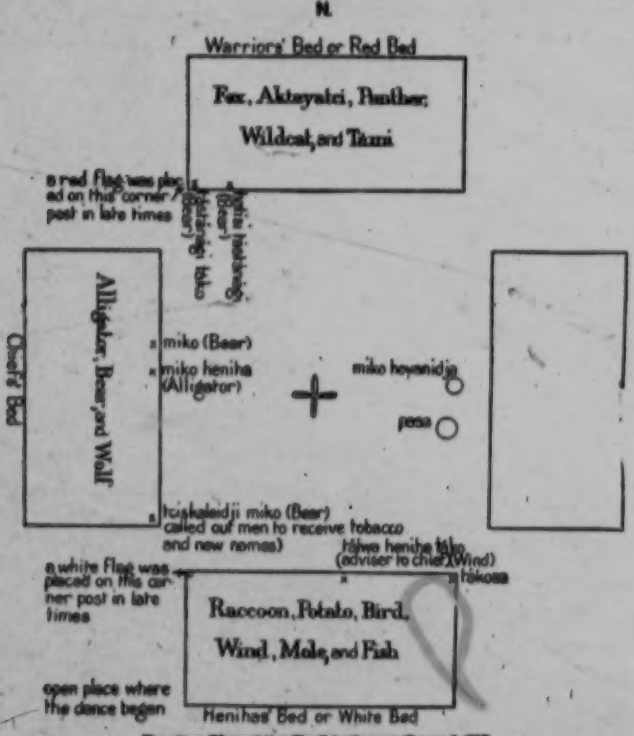
N.
Warriors' Bed or Red Bed
Fox, Aktayatci, Panther, Wildcat, and Tami
a red flag was placed on this corner post in late times
Alligator, Bear, and Wolf
Chiefs' Bed
miko (Bear)
miko henihe (Alligator)
miko hoyenidje
pose
tciskaleidji miko (Bear) called out men to receive tobacco and new names)
hitiwe henihe hiko (adviser to chief)
(Wind)
hokosa
a white flag was placed on this corner post in late times
Raccoon, Potato, Bird, Wind, Mole, and Fish
open place where the dance began
Henihas' Bed or White Bed

FIG. 71.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (IV)

the Raccoon with the Tukabahchee and Okchai, as also the Abihka. The Turkey and Wildcat are the most conspicuous clans among the Koasati at the present time, though the latter at least was widely distributed. Turning to the purer Muskogee divisions we find that the Aktayatci is most conspicuous among the Hilibi, the Eufaula, and in the Wiogufki groups of towns and that the Beaver clan attains special prominence in the Tulsa towns, although it is also a pronounced

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Southeastern Indians
269 NN3

C. 642 614

factor among the Alabama and Koasati of Texas and Louisiana. The Skunk is conspicuous among towns of the Okfuskee connection, while the Alligator, Fish, and Potato people seem more in evidence among the Lower Creeks than elsewhere. Although very widely distributed, the Wind and Bear seem most prominent and influential in towns supposed to be pure Muskogee.

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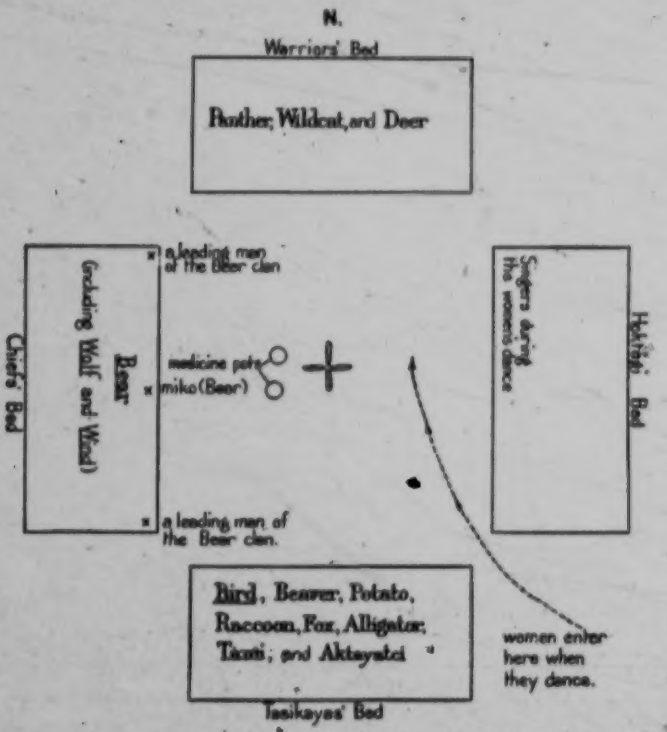

FIG. 72.—Plan of the Okmulgee Square Ground

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It will also be of interest to compare the clan divisions found within the Creek confederacy with those among surrounding tribes belonging to the same totemic area. These include the Timucua of northern Florida, the Chickasaw, and the Cherokee, to which perhaps may be added the Natchez living among the Cherokee and the Yuchi. There were also exogamous divisions among some of the eastern Siouan tribes and we must allow for the possibility that there existed a connection between the totemic system of the Chickasaw and those of the Caddo and Chitimacha. Upon the whole, however, it would

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Southeastern Indians
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seem most probable that the Caddo and Chitimacha areas were independent of the Chickasaw.

On comparing the clans found among the first tribes which we have mentioned we find at once that the clan names most widely extended were those of the Deer and Bird which appear among all these peoples. The reader should be warned at the beginning, however, that some of the other Cherokee clan names may originally have referred metaphorically to animals and that some of the as yet untranslated Timucua clan names may be of totemic significance.

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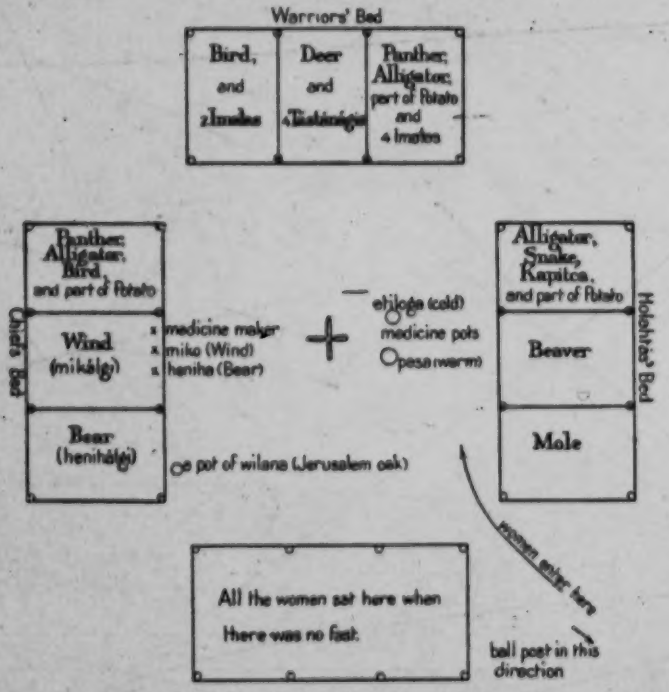

FIG. 72.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa híko) (I)

A Panther clan is found among the Timucua, Natchez, Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, a Bear clan among all of these except the Chickasaw, a Fish clan among all except the Natchez, and a Raccoon clan among all but the Timucua. A Wolf clan existed among the Cherokee, Yuchi, and Creeks, as also among the Chickasaw if we may trust Morgan; in Florida it may have been represented by the Dog clan. The Wildcat is mentioned specifically only among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, but wherever there was a Panther clan a Wildcat clan is apt to make its appearance sooner or later associated

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Southeastern Indians
271 NN3

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with it. There was a Fox clan among the Yuchi and Creeks, a White Fox clan in Florida, and a Fox or Red Fox clan among the Chickasaw; a Skunk clan among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks; and Wind and Beaver clans among the Natchez, Yuchi, and Creeks. Morgan reports a Chickasaw Alligator clan, and one of my own informants gave the Alligator as a Yuchi clan, but Speck makes no mention of it. It was, of course, well known to the Creeks. A Snake clan makes its appearance among the Natchez, the Creeks, and probably the Yuchi. Spanish clans (Isfani) played a rather important

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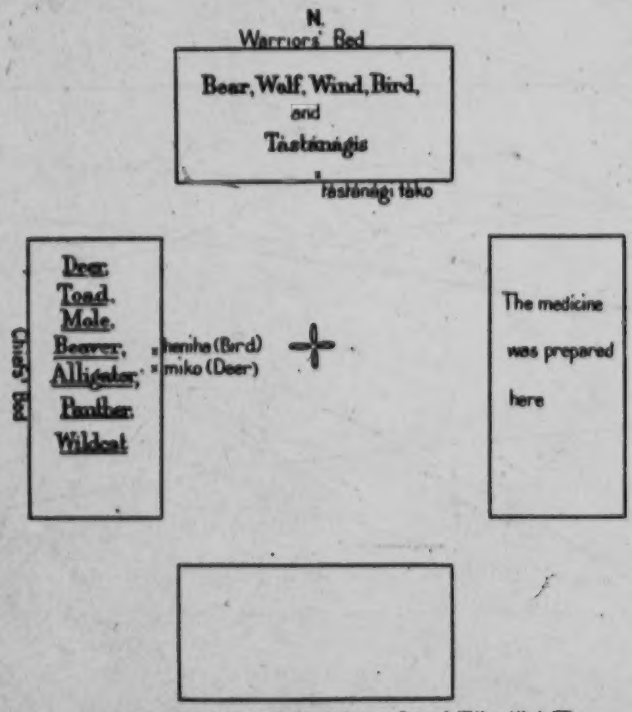

FIG. 74.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa iśko) (II)

part in the Creek and Chickasaw nations, but the Buzzard clan, which seems to have attained great prominence in Florida, is entirely wanting among the people north of it except possibly the Yuchi. The only subdivision corresponding to the Earth clan of the Timucua was an obscure Creek division mentioned only by one authority and called the Fresh Land clan. A Squirrel clan is reported by Morgan from the Chickasaw and by Speck from the Yuchi, and Morgan is confirmed by some evidence which I myself collected. A Partridge

I: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Southeastern Indians
NN3

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clan is found only in Florida, and a Chief clan only among the Chickasaw. The Blackbird which Morgan reports as existing among the Chickasaw and the Haloba recorded among the same people by Gibbs are equally unique.

The order of distribution would, therefore, be something like this:

1. Bird, Deer.
2. Panther (and Wildcat).
3. Bear, Fish, Raccoon.

C. [344 621]

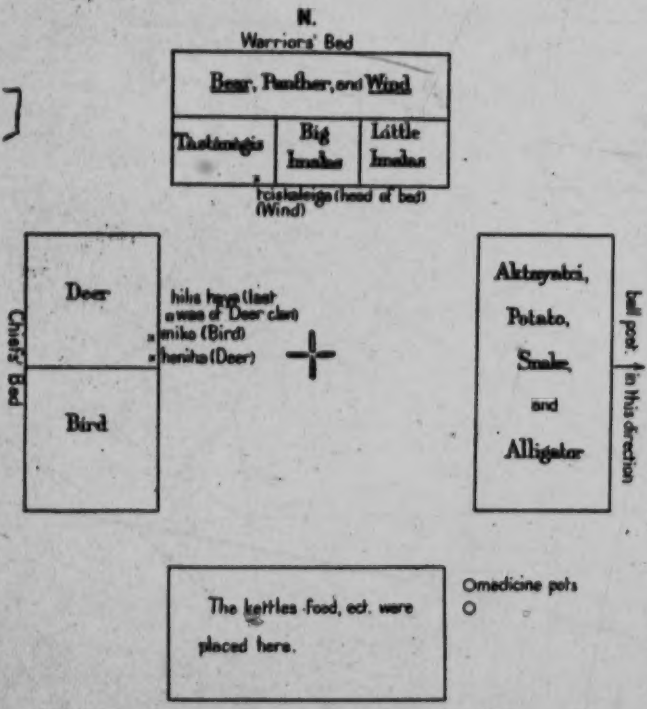

FIG. 75.—Plan of the Hitchiti Square Ground

4. Wolf, Fox.
5. Skunk.
6. Wind, Beaver.
7. Alligator, Snake.
8. Spanish.
9. Buzzard, Earth, Squirrel.

The importance of the deer in the economic life of the Southeast will readily account for the wide distribution of the Deer clan, but it is not so easy to explain the popularity of a clan bearing such a general name as the Bird. Possibly the name had something to do with the

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Yuchi NN20
Southeastern Indians NN3

C. 171 614 S. 614

use of bird feathers in peace-making ceremonies, and in corroboration of that suggestion it must be remembered that the Bird clan was reckoned a White clan among the Creeks and that it did not include the Eagle or the Turkey. It is interesting to note that in Florida the Bear and Bird clans were associated as they were among the Creeks. The Panther clan is almost as popular as the Bird and Deer, being wanting only from the Cherokee; the nature of the animal accounts sufficiently for this. Of the remaining clans the Wind, Beaver,

Y. [344 621]

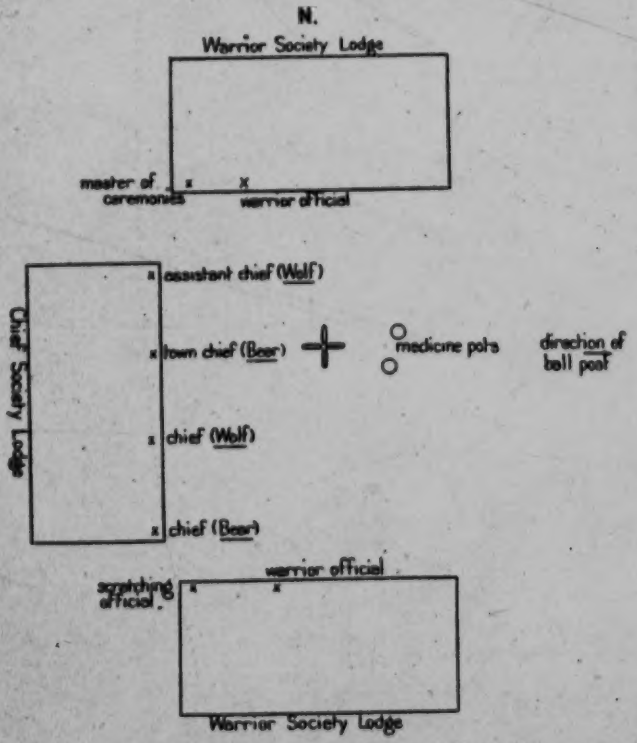

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Yuchi Square Ground. (After Speck)

Alligator, and Snake are most prominent among the Creeks and those tribes particularly influenced by them; the Wolf is most prominent among the Cherokee, and the Buzzard and Earth clans among the Timucua. It is rather remarkable that the Fish was less in evidence among the Creeks than among the Timucua on one side and the Chickasaw on the other.

Whether the clans actually originated with those tribes among which they were most prominent in historic times and spread from them to the others is a question to which no answer can be given

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Southeastern Indians NN3

C. 171 •614 S. 614

on the basis of the data at hand. There seems some reason to think that the three leading White clans, Wind, Bear, and Bird, were from very early times connected with the true Muskogee, that the Deer and Panther, possibly introduced from Florida, formed the nucleus of the War element at one time, or in certain towns, and that, in other towns—or perhaps at a later period—they were displaced by the Raccoon-Potato-Fox clans. It is also possible that, in this latter association, the Potato and Fox may represent an older element

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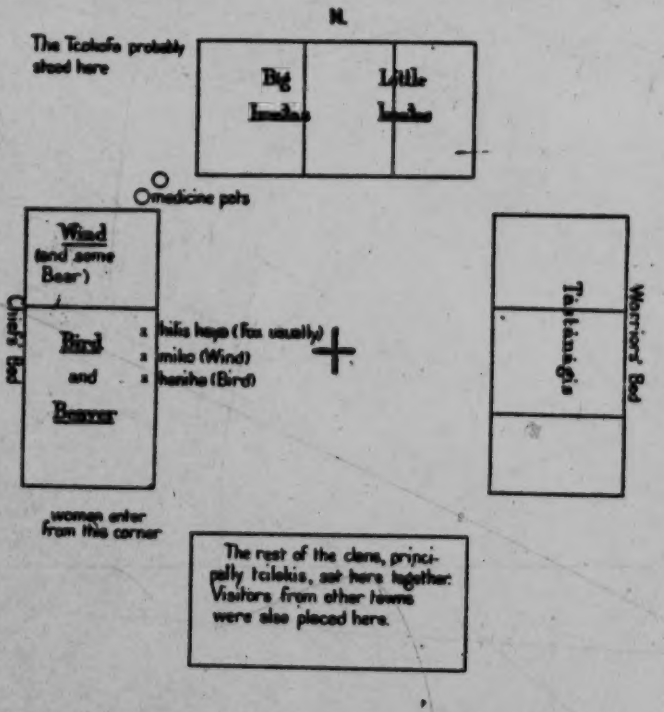

FIG. 77.—Plan of the Cowsta Square Ground (I)

later strengthened by the Raccoon at the period of immigration of the Tukabahchee and Okchai. From the habitat of the reptile and its relative prominence among the Lower Creeks we may also guess that the Alligator clan had its origin somewhere in the south, though there seems to have been no such clan in Florida.

The writer has been adversely criticized for suggesting a foreign origin for one of the two moieties of certain of the north Pacific coast tribes on the basis of the names and traditions connected with it.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Southeastern Indians NN3

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Nevertheless, whether this has a historical or psychological basis or both, the same phenomenon reappears in the Southeast. Here, as we have seen, the clans opposed to the Whites, presumably those considered war clans, were known as Tcilokogălgi, "people of a different speech." Not only so, but, as we have seen, in the most ancient pure Muskogee towns, the White clans are the most prominent

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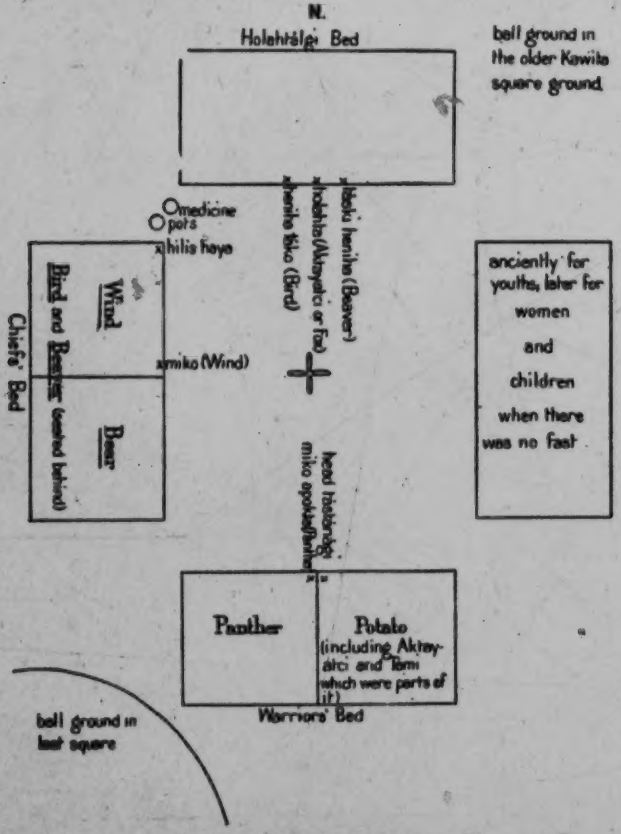

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Cowĕta Square Ground (II)

and are those from which the town chief is oftenest selected. This is the condition in Kasihta, Coweta, and above all among the Okfuskee, the people supposedly descended from ancient Coosa. On the other hand the Raccoon clan rises to prominence in Tukabahchee and Okchai, and the towns related to these, and the Aktayatci clan in Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Eufaula. I will not attempt to carry the argument any farther, for it may easily be overdone, but leave the facts to the consideration of future students.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti

622 out conferring with his council. The miko is called "king" by early writers and traders, and in fact the Creeks themselves applied this term to the highest officials among the whites, such as the governors of Carolina and Georgia, and to European monarchs, the King of Great Britain for instance having been known as Antapala miko łáko, "the great miko on the other side of [the ocean]." As we have seen, the miko had the seat of honor in the public square, and we learn from Spanish sources that before horses were introduced he

[344 621]

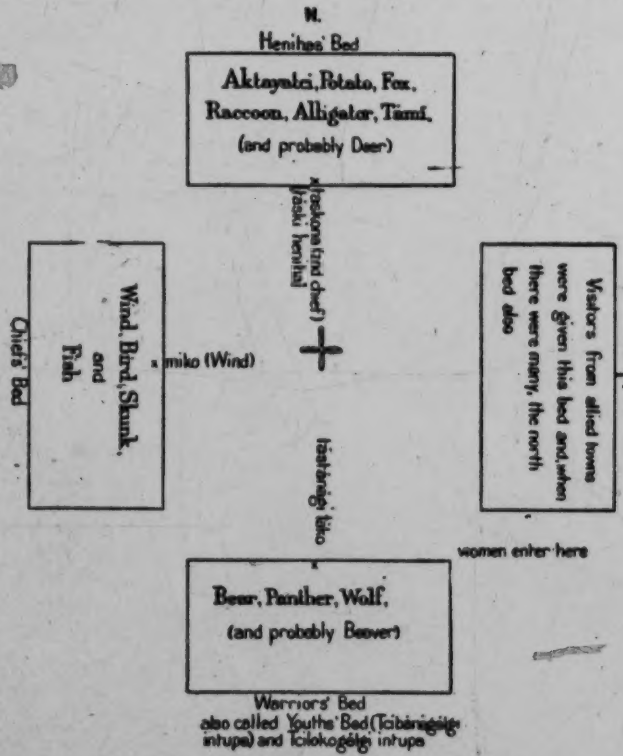
N.
Henihas' Bed
Aktayalci, Potato, Fox, Raccoon, Alligator, Tämi, (and probably Deer)
Hasko (tind chief) Yäski henihal
Wind, Bird, Skunk, and Fish
Chiefs' Bed
miko (Wind)
Visitors from allied towns were given this bed and, when there were many, the north bed also
ball
post
Istanagi łáko
women enter here
Bear, Panther, Wolf, (and probably Beaver)
Warriors' Bed
also called Youths' Bed (Tcibänigi'ga intupa) and Tcilokogi'ga intupa

FIG. 82.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (II)

was carried about on state occasions in a litter borne on the shoulders of his principal men.

614 622 The association between clanship and the office of miko has already been dwelt upon. It has been shown that the miko was ordinarily chosen from some particular clan, but that the clan would be changed if the tribe suffered any misfortune, or sometimes, as frequently happened in later years, if the royal clan ran out so that no suitable

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Osochi

person could be found in it to occupy the position. It is probable that readjustments took place even in very early times, for Adair, speaking of the Chickasaw, says: "The most numerous tribe commonly bore the highest command; yet their old warriors assure us, it was not so even within their own remembrance."[20] As between the available candidates inside of the proper clan, selection was made in several different ways, depending on the town. According to a Coweta informant, he was selected by the members of the White clans, including, of course, only those individuals who had seats on

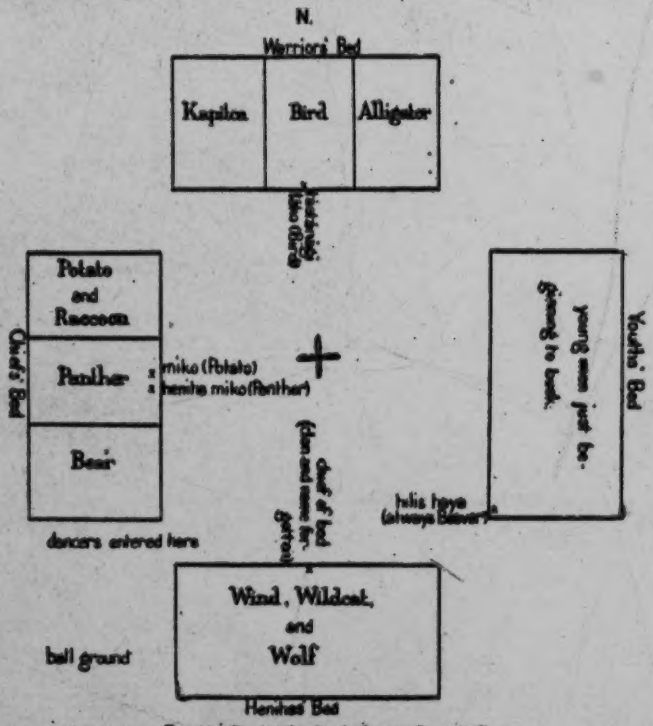

FIG. 34.—Plan of the Creek Square Ground (I)

the square ground. This agrees partially with what Ispahihtca told Doctor Gatschet, that at Kasihta the chief and "vice-chief" were selected by those who sat in the south or "white" bed.[21] According to the description of the Kasihta square, which Ispahihtca himself gives, all of the clans in that bed were indeed White except the Potato and Deer. His remark may have been intended to cover only the White clans.

[20] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 21. [21] Gatschet, MS. notes; see p. 32.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

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been entrusted to the White clans (see p. 281). Probably he was chosen in the same way as the second chief who is said to have been nominated by the White clans, and the nomination confirmed, merely as a matter of form, by the Tcilokis. According to Legus Perryman, the chiefs at Lutcapoga, along with the other officers of each of the three beds, were chosen by the members of the other two, the only limitation being in respect to the clan from which they could be taken.

The chiefs of the Texas Alabama were elected at a general meeting of the tribe, but this statement applies only to recent times, and

S. [344 621]

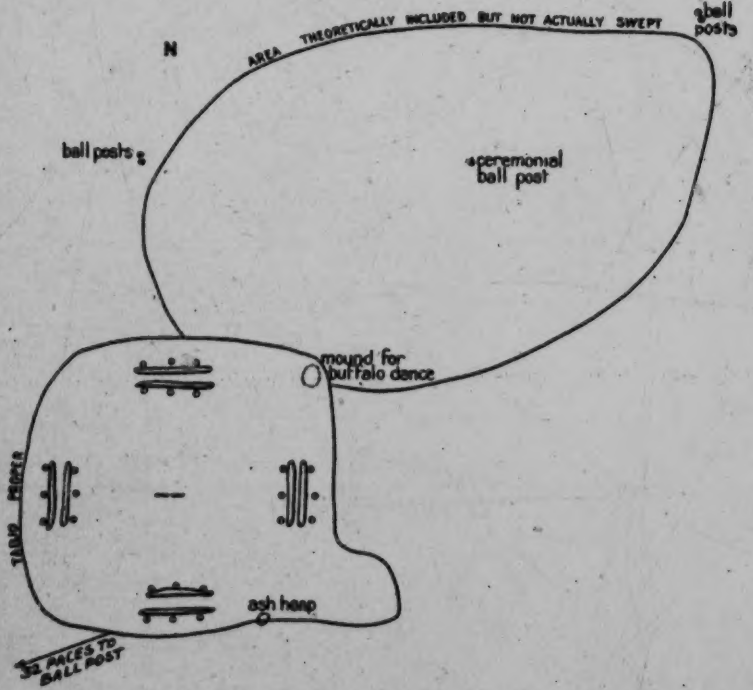

FIG. 88.—Okfuskee Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

before they left the other Creeks in Alabama their custom may have been different.

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As we have seen in the case of Tukabahchee, there were sometimes assistant chiefs. At Tukabahchee they were all of one clan, but sometimes they were of different clans, perhaps in such cases the heads of their respective clans, for we know that the oldest or most influential uncle in each presided at clan councils and advised his fellows regarding their conduct. This has been spoken of already. At Pakan tallahassee the miko, who belongs to the Aktayatci clan, sits

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 614 622 624

in the middle of the north bed, on his left his heniha, and on his right, in succession, a second chief of the Wind clan, a third chief of the Bear (or Panther) clan, and a fourth chief of the Bird (or Panther) clan.

Usually, however, there was one principal subordinate chief, or vice chief, miko apokta ("twin chief") as he was called, and the customs regarding him seem to have varied considerably from town

S. [344 621]

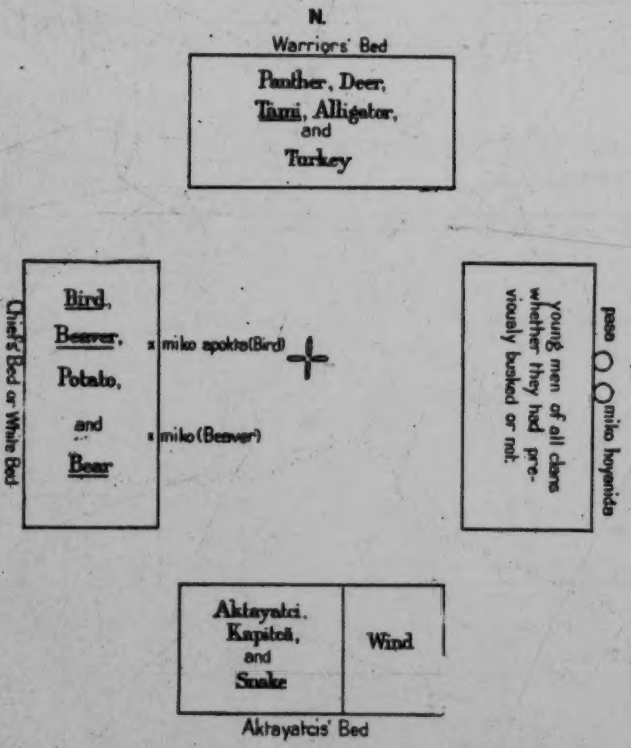

FIG. 30.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tallahassutci Seminole

to town. Hawkins says of this chief: "When a Mic-co, from age, infirmity, or any other cause, wants an assistant, he selects a man who appears to him the best qualified, and proposes him to the counsellors and great men of the town, and if he is approved of by them, they appoint him as an assistant in public affairs, and he takes his seat on this cabin accordingly." The second chief in Tulsa Canadian, Lutcapoga, and probably in the other Tulsa towns as well, belonged to the Beaver clan, the same as that which furnished the first chief. According to Legus Perryman, the second chief of Lutcapoga "was

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

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called the itá'lwa mi'ko. He was assistant to the head chief and, while the authority of the latter extended over the town as a whole, he concerned himself with matters of a more local character, particularly those connected with the square. He might be called the "square chief." Similarly, the second chief of Coweta, who was taken from the Panther clan, is said to have been "chief of the square," while the head chief was "speaker for the other towns friendly to Coweta." This may refer back to the time when the Coweta chief was also chief of all the Lower Creeks. The second chief of Łiwahali is said to have been of the Aktayatci or Fox clan and to have taken charge if, for any reason, the miko had to leave the square ground. In Łikatcha the miko belonged to the Alligator clan and the miko apokta to the Bear. I was informed that at Chiaha the miko and heniha were both taken from the Bear clan, but the miko apokta must have been intended instead of the heniha. From Speck it appears that the position of miko apokta at Tuskegee was of a less permanent character. He says: "If the *miko* could not leave his town he appointed a delegate who bore his title to attend the councils of other towns or those of the Confederacy."[1]

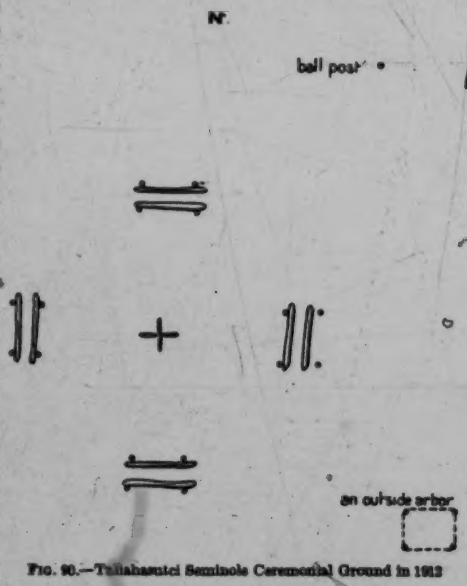

FIG. 90.—Tallahassutci Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Connected evidently with the institution of a miko apokta was a condition reported from several towns in which the chieftainship alternated between two clans. I was informed that in Tcatoksofka such an alternation took place between the Bear and Beaver clans. If the head chief belonged to the Bear clan and the second chief to the Beaver clan, and the former died the latter would become head chief, a member of the Bear clan being chosen as second chief. In Tuskegee a similar alternation took place between the Bear and Wind clans, and in the old Abihka town near Eufaula an alternation is reported between the Bear and Raccoon. This Abihka square has, however, long been given up and the other Abihka towns do not seem

[1] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 113.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 614 622

to have preserved the custom, although in two of them the chiefs are Bear and the henihas Raccoon. In the Seminole town of Talahasutci there is said to have been an alternation between the Beaver and the Bird clans. I was told that, after the last reorganization of the Hitchiti square in which the miko was taken from the Bird clan and the heniha from the Deer, in an emergency the latter could be made miko and the former heniha.

C. 624

In addition to the chiefs, second chiefs, and similar leaders there was anciently a considerable body of persons called mikâgi, or mikâlgi,

S. [344 621]

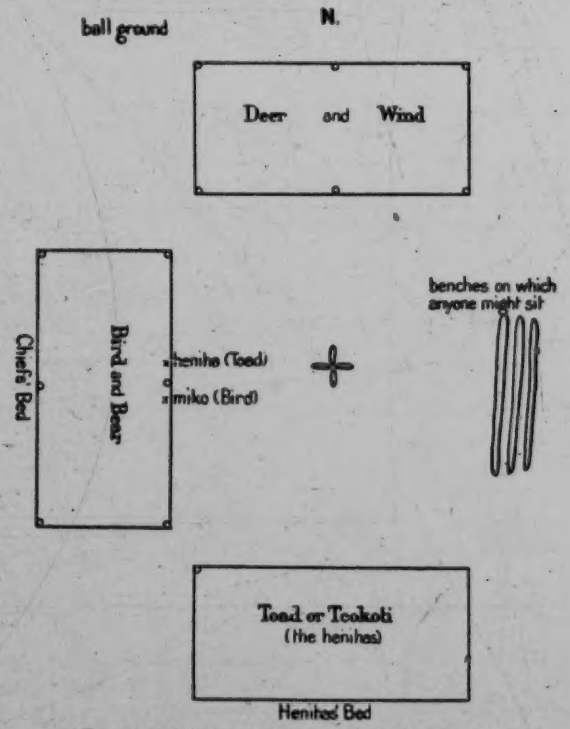

FIG. 91.—Plan of the Square Ground of Hitchiti Seminole

the plural of miko, who performed minor functions. These were ordinarily taken from the same clan as the head miko, though it may be possible that the appellation was extended beyond under certain circumstances, particularly in later times. It is even possible that the name may have been bestowed at the busk on account of an ancestor who had this title and with no office or dignity attached. All we can say is that the mikâgi belonged theoretically, and usually, to the clan of the head miko. The following account of this class by

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624 been this class which was pointed out to Milfort as the real rulers of the Creek nation when he inquired for their "king."[45]

624 Particular attention should be called to the differentiation of the
614 isti àtcagàgi belonging to the clan of the chiefs as isti àtcagàgi sûlga in Tukabahchee and elsewhere. This differentiation indicates the invasion of the clan and hereditary ideas into an institution mainly based on merit. I do not mean that it necessarily represents a later development, yet it was the side of the institution which became more pronounced in later times. Even an informant as old as Jackson Lewis, in describing the isti àtcagàgi—probably as recognized in Eufaula—says that the term was applied to the men of the same clan as that of the town chief or to men of related clans. He adds that they sat in the central part of the north bed and embraced those who would succeed to the chieftaincy. As we have seen, they were not solely of the royal clan, but it is probably true that those who happened to belong in this group often became chiefs. In Pakan tallahassee and Okchai the hereditary tendency has gone so far that the term is applied to members of the Bird and Wind clans, respectively. It is to be added that the same evolution has taken place with another merit group, the tàstànàgis. At old Abihka near Eufaula I was told that the Raccoon clan were the tàstànàgis, at Kan-tcati the tàstànàgis were of the Panther clan, and at Lutcapoga and Łikatcka of the Aktayatci. At Mikasuki part of the Panther clan is called the "first warriors," part of the Potato clan the "second warriors," and parts of both the "lesser warriors." Nothing could show the decline of the system better than the idea expressed by one of my informants that all of the occupants of a certain bed were at the same time tàstànàgis, tcilokis, and henihas. In Tukabahchee, where the old system is still partially in force, it yet happens that most of the tàstànàgis belong to the Raccoon or royal clan, most of the big imalas to the Potato, and most of the little imalas to the Panther and Bear. It must be remembered, however, that the two first classes were accompanied at the busk by henihas of the Wind clan. We find, furthermore, that certain clans from the Red side are particularly associated with war and often sit in the same bed as the warriors from whom many of their members were chosen, and no doubt this is the real reason why they came in time to be confounded with them. As shown elsewhere, the clans principally associated with war and oftenest seated in the Warriors' bed were the Panther, Deer, Raccoon, Potato, and Aktayatci.[45a] Regarding the Panther, I have evidence that there was a mental association of the characteristics of the animal with the occupation, and I was told in the case of the lesser imalas among the Tukabahchee that they were taken from the Panther and Bear because those two animals have a fierce

[45] Milfort, Mém., pp. 208-209.

[45a] See p. 227.

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disposition—and this in spite of the almost universal classification of the Bear as a peace clan. Further evidence of degeneration is shown in some of the Seminole towns in Oklahoma where a singe tástánagi has usurped the functions of both the chief's heniha and the miko apokta.

At Tukabahchee, and probably the other principal Creek towns as well, the isti átcagágí, the tástánágis, and some of the other classes bore names which were passed on to their successors, and hence amounted to titles. In fact the war names owned by each clan were thus passed on and were therefore rather titles than true names. Since these titles were conferred under state auspices the persons bearing them might be regarded as officials and from that fact possessed of a share in its government. The government of a Creek town or little state, for such it really was, is thus seem to have rested on bodies of men owing their positions partly to descent and partly to recognized prowess in war. When it was in its prime it is probable that merit vastly overbalanced, the isti átcagágis, tástánágis, imalas, and tásikayas having owed their positions mainly, at least, to individual accomplishments. Although the mikágí and henihálgí had to do with peace mainly, they had gone through with the war discipline and had been selected from among the warriors. While they must always belong to certain clans they were, beyond that restriction, elective, and, as these clans were usually numerous, a considerable choice could be exercised. While it is true that the legislative and executive power was vested in a small number of people these were persons who had, for the most part, worked their way up by their talents and bravery, and were really representative of the native ideals of what was highest and most worthy. A power of recall was also exercised in the case of the chief and it is probable that we should find that the same power existed in effect over the other offices. A separation of governmental functions had begun in some particulars, the henihas being a kind of Department of the Interior concerned with the pursuits of peace, and the various classes of warriors, particularly the tástánágis, a department concerned with war, and also constituting an internal police.

Speck is the only authority for the use of face paintings to mark differences in rank. He says:

"Facial painting was employed to indicate rank in the town. Persons bearing the title of *míko* or *hiníha* wore black paint on one side of the face and red on the other, coloring either the whole face or only the space around the eyes. The second pattern belonged to ordinary initiated men having the title *taskáya* and consisted of four stripes, from the cheek-bone to the angle of the jaw, alternating in red and yellow." [46]

[46] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. x, p. 114.

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554 302 It happens that the very town, Tuskegee, from which Speck derived this information, was the one where I learned about face paintings used to distinguish citizens of different towns.[47] Possibly, therefore, this data contains a reference to some custom not clearly remembered. As we shall see when we come to treat of war customs, the design said to be worn by a Tuskegee miko was almost identical with that assumed by members of a war party, while war honors, which of course carried rank with them, were perpetuated by means of tattooings.[48]

623 Regarding the town council Hawkins has the following to say:

"The Micco, counsellors [i. e., isti àtcagàgi] and warriors meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thle-chal-litch-cau, (roll the bullet.)[49] Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the à-cee, to all who attend the square."[50]

These meetings began early in the morning. Elsewhere we learn that the care of the àsi was the prerogative of the henihàlgi.[51] Zachariah Cook states that the àsi was merely taken into the mouth, not swallowed, but this represents the institution in its decline. At an earlier day it was swallowed, but ejected afterwards. The leading men sometimes counselled on the open square and sometimes in the big house, in the latter especially on matters requiring secrecy. From thence, at the time of the busk, instructions were sent out for the clans or clan groups to gather in councils and these were held at 614 different places about the grounds. The clan councils have been referred to in discussing the clan system. At the great council of the 623 town leaders and at the smaller councils lectures on conduct were delivered, the doings of the preceding year reviewed, and future prospects outlined. Each clan council was usually presided over by the oldest pawa, or "uncle," belonging to it, or at any rate the one most esteemed, and he lectured the members of his clan in the same way. If any of the younger members of this clan had deserved a reprimand he would deliver it, and he was often requested so to do.

619 631 642 In a previous discussion of the evolution of the Creek confederacy the important part played by the towns of Kasihta and Coweta has been pointed out, and their social significance as leaders of two sets of towns whose relations were governed by certain laws, or, rather, precedents. The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided in another way, viz, geographically, into two groups which

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[47] See p. 348.
[48] See p. 436.
[49] The game described on pp. 469–470.
[50] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.
[51] See p. 303.

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desire him to be made free." Frequently this was done and he suffered no punishment.

Among the Alabama retaliation for murder rested, as among the Creeks, with the clan of the victim. Upon one occasion, after this tribe had removed to Louisiana and Texas, one of the Louisiana Alabama killed another and fled to Texas. Sometime afterward he suddenly appeared among the people he had left while a dance was going on. The men belonging to the clan of the murdered man then got their guns, came to the place, and killed him. He on his part crouched by the fire and made no attempt to escape. Evidently he had decided deliberately that death was better than banishment.

There is no instance recorded of an old person being killed to save his family the trouble of supporting him, and Bartram is insistent that such cases occurred rarely, and only at the earnest request of the victim.[38] Bossu says that "the old people who can not follow during a retreat ask to be killed with blows of clubs, as well to spare them the grief of decrepitude as for fear lest they fall into the hands of their enemies, and be burned or eaten,"[39] but he is careful to explain that death was inflicted upon the aged only from motives of humanity. Says Romans: "They revere old age to excess," but he adds, "in extreme sickness they will out of compassion break the neck of the decrepit or lingering patient."[39a]

Infanticide was practiced under certain circumstances, as the following from Swan shows:

"If a young woman becomes pregnant by a fellow whom she had expected to marry, and is disappointed, in revenge, she is authorized by a custom of the country, to destroy the infant at the birth, if she pleases, which is often done, by leaving it to perish in the swamp where it was born, or throwing it into the water. And, indeed, to destroy a new-born infant is not uncommon in families that are grown so numerous as to be supported with difficulty; it is done by mutual consent of the clan and parents, and without remorse."[40]

This is supported by Milfort:

"In this nation the children all belong to the mother, who has the right of life and death over the one to whom she has just given birth, during the first month following her confinement. This time having expired, if she should kill it she would herself be punished with death."[41]

Witchcraft was often given as the reason for killing a certain person, but it must be remembered that the person was not destroyed

[38] Bartram, Travels, p. 497.
[39] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 28-30.
[39a] Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 88.
[40] Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 272.
[41] Milfort, Mém., p. 251.

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given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched." [88]

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan [89a] in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual busk and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community.

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Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors.

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A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead.

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called tciktcikáno' plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (cadre) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men.

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)." [90]

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[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 413.
[89a] Ot clan group; see pp. 122-123.
[90] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 24-25.

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584 585 girl then goes to the parents of the girl and tells the story. The girl is not consulted in the case. If the parents are willing, a time for the ceremony of marriage is appointed by the connections. At the time appointed an outer house or corn crib is selected near the girl's house and a bowl of sofkee (boiled corn) is placed under the projecting shed of the crib in sight from the house, and here the girl has the privilege of exerting a veto. The girl is informed of the whole business and if she chooses to allow the man to steal up and take a spoonful of sofkee without her seeing him, it is a marriage and the parties sleep the first night in the corn crib. This has been the old custom, but is going out of use. After the ceremony the young man is not allowed to visit the house of his wife by day for the period of a month, but must visit his wife after dark and go away before day. The sofkee part of the ceremony is now generally 595 dispensed with. If a married man takes another wife, the first wife may assent to it passively or, if she chooses, she may whip the woman, but in this case she must move away and yield all her rights to the latter, who becomes the principal wife. In this way the man may take as many women as he pleases and is able to support. The wife, in the exercise of her prerogative, has a right to the assistance of her female relations and when it is exercised the ceremony is severe and makes a lasting impression. The object is to disfigure their victim and the wife uses her nails, scratches the face of the new wife, and whips her with switches. (The severity of this ceremony must exercise a considerable restraint upon both husband and women, making it necessary to consult the wife in advance in order that her assent may be assured, before her rights are encroached upon. Alexander said he knew of a case (*saw it*—and heard the language) when a wife exercised her right, saying as she laid on the lash, "You think it is honey, but I will make it vinegar before I'm done with you.")[10]

585 "Among the Creeks" (says Claiborne), "the marriage ceremony is this: The man gives the woman a piece of venison or some kind of meat, and she gives him an ear of corn in the presence of witnesses. They are then man and wife, at least until the green-corn dance. Then the married couple are released if either of them thinks proper to break the contract. In such case the woman keeps the children."[11]

584 614 From the accounts obtained by myself it is evident that the regular marriage or "binding" was a clan (or rather exogamous group) affair and that it could be initiated by the clan of the youth or that of the girl. According to one statement the maternal uncles and cousins of a girl—i. e., the people of her clan—talked the matter over—probably at a clan council—and decided upon the young man who ap-

[10] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[11] Claiborne, Miss., vol. 1, p. 482.

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peared to them most eligible, one who was a good hunter, a good warrior, or a good ball player, or all of these, he being also of course outside of the prohibited degrees. All his qualifications were reviewed and all possible objections, consanguineal and other, considered. After a majority of the clan relations had agreed they informed the girl's parents, and the latter told their daughter to make her bed ready. Then the youth was brought, and, pointing to the bed, they said to him, "There is your bed. Lie in it." Then they went away and left them. 584 614

On the other hand, at a council of the clan to which a certain youth belonged it might be suggested that he was a nice fellow and getting along in years, and that such and such a girl was well brought up and cared for and an altogether desirable match, and that they had better send over to her people and ask for her. Then they would send someone over. The people of the girl's clan would meet and say "In a few days you will hear from us." The time having elapsed, word would be sent, and, if it were favorable, in a few days more the young man was conducted thither. Then the parents of the girl informed her what was expected of her and told her to prepare her bed. They brought the youth in and told the two that that was to be their bed henceforth.[13] In olden times this was the only legal marriage; nevertheless, from what has been quoted it is apparent that temporary unions were tolerated in the nature of trial marriages or with women who had become outcasts.

Speck was told that a wife sometimes accompanied her husband to his town and resided there, in which case the children belonged to that town.[14] This must have happened rather rarely and in any case would not affect the clanship of the children, which always remained the same as that of the mother. 591

The testimony obtained from the Texas Alabama is to much the same effect as the foregoing. Marriages were arranged by the clan uncles and aunts, and the father and mother of both parties, who first agreed together and then talked to the young people in order to persuade them to agree. When this was accomplished the girl prepared her couch for her husband, who came after all were asleep and got up and left before daylight. He did the same thing every night for about a week, and for a month afterwards his wife's people did not talk much to him nor he to them. 585 [584]

These ceremonies apply particularly to marriage between quite young people. It is said that in marriages which took place later in life the parties concerned had as much voice in the matter as their clansmen and clanswomen. Probably they had more, as the

[13] Sometimes a separate house was put up for them before the wedding took place. See p. 373, and Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. ii, p. 117.

[14] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. ii, p. 117.

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589 Elsewhere the same observer informs us that, in 1840, the Creek national council undertook to reduce the period of enforced widowhood to 12 months, but so much opposition was aroused that they were forced to restore the old law the next year.[27]

[736] The Tukabahchee chief informed Hitchcock that when there were widows or orphans with no one to take care of them he called the people out and had them put up a house for them, fence in a garden, and plant corn.

Claiborne says:

"With the Creeks, when a man dies, his wives can not dress up, or go into company, or attend the dances or appear in the town square, or bind up their hair for the period of 12 months, during which time they must remain chaste under the penalty of beating and cropping as above stated. The relations of the deceased husband have the privilege of releasing them from the observance of this custom before the year is out, but they seldom do so."[28]

[587 .614] The fact comes out plainly in all of these accounts that the clan, or rather the family group within the clan, which has furnished the husband or the wife of the widow or widower feels itself under obligations to supply his or her place, and on the other hand that it has the prior right to supply it. That not merely the man but the group had acquired the right to the individual is shown clearly by Swan's statement above that a widow who made free with any man until after four summers was considered an adulteress. This does not mean a communal right, however; merely a right to furnish the bereaved party with another spouse.

As might have been anticipated, Adair has a great deal to say on this subject, though it must be understood that his remarks apply more particularly to the Chickasaw:

"All the Indian widows, by an established strict penal law, mourn for the loss of their deceased husbands; and among some tribes for the space of three or four years. . . .

"The Muskohge widows are obliged to live a chaste single life, for the tedious space of four years; and the Chikkasah women, for the term of three, at the risque of the law of adultery being executed against the recusants. Every evening, and at the very dawn of day, for the first year of her widowhood, she is obliged through the fear of shame to lament her loss, in very intense audible strains. . . .

"Their law compels the widow, through the long term of her weeds, to refrain all public company and diversions, at the penalty of an adulteress; and likewise to go with flowing hair, without the privilege of oil to anoint it. The nearest kinsmen of the deceased husband, keep a very watchful eye over her conduct, in this respect. The

[27] See p. 384.
[28] Claiborne, Miss., vol. 1, p. 508.

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at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved.

If it may be relied upon as a common belief the following information obtained by Doctor Speck from Laslie Cloud, medicine maker of the Tuskegee, is very valuable:

"Upon the same occasion (the busk) the clan totems and other animal spirits are worshiped and propitiated by numerous dances each with its own song and gestures. These address prayer and express gratitude to the propitious ones and correspondingly placation to those that are believed to be nocuous. To take an example, the *stikint*, 'little screech owl,'[35b] is an unfavorable spirit of the dead, causing death or announcing death to the one who hears it. So the *Stikinobánga*, 'Little-screech-owl dance,' is functionally a prayer to the screech owl for immunity from its visits. These dances are performed publicly on the square ground and all spectators may take part freely. In other cases dances are directed, as acts of worship by emulation, to the spirits of animals whose flesh is food. The emulation is believed to affect the spirits of the dead animals in their reincarnation upon the earth. So with the fish dance, the buffalo dance, and others." [36]

Unfortunately I have been entirely unable to substantiate this even at the mouths of very intelligent old people and consequently do not know whether it was the personal understanding of Laslie Cloud or represented a former widely extended belief. But since the busk was a very sacred ceremonial a symbolic meaning was likely to be extended over every feature connected with it.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that the "peace" of the busk was a peace with limitations. It included the town busking, it included in a lesser degree the other Creek towns of the same fire, and in a lesser degree still the towns of the other fire, the contests with which were merely through ball games, but here it stopped and, just as peace and ball games were institutional up to that point, so was war institutional beyond that point. War was by no means excluded from consideration in the square ground and the busk, or even temporarily suppressed. The warriors had their distinctive beds where they were ranged in grades, advancement in the seatings, and along with it new names, was granted for achievements in almost all cases obtained in war, the warriors had their definite part in the ceremonies, and the atásá, the war symbol, was given to the youth who was thus renamed, carried by the women who led the women's dance, and indicated by short posts or by markings upon the tall posts in the front of the beds of the chief himself.[37] Atásá posts

[35b] This is really the horned owl.

[36] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 134–135.

[37] It is now denied that there is any ceremonial meaning to the atásá sticks carried by the women in the women's dance or to the feathers which the young men like to stick in their hats, but both are undoubtedly descended from significant usages.

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619 621 In former times a certain aloofness was maintained by the towns of one moiety toward those of the other. They did not encourage intermarriage and did not attend each other's annual ceremonies. This latter inhibition is now breaking down and it is claimed that men of all towns attend the busk of Otciapofa. Otciapofa, however, has long occupied an exceptional position. A chief belonging to the Bird clan of this town always delivered the principal speech when a new chief of the Confederation was installed. This town was also the residence of the Creek dictator Alexander McGillivray, and it was here that Crazy Snake, leader of the Creek conservatives, called his important councils. Evidently the functions of the White and Red sides in maintaining peace or bringing on hostilities were formerly of great importance and some White towns, certainly Apalachicola and Coosa, were places of refuge for murderers. The "regular" ball games, as distinguished from practice games, always took place between towns of different sides and the supporters of each town marched to the encounter in much the same spirit as if they were going to war.

101 The principal White towns were: Kasihta, Apalachicola, Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, Yuchi, Abihka, Coosa, Otciapofa, Tulsa, Okfuskee, Okchai (including Łałogálga and Asilanabi), Pakana, Koasati, Tuskegee, and Wiogufki.

The principal Red towns were: Coweta (including Łikatcka), Eufaula, Chiaha, Osochi, Tukabahchee, Łiwahali, Łapłáko, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hilibi. Alabama changed from White to Red in the manner described.

614 615 The people of each town were subdivided into clans which were usually named after animals and were invariably perpetuated in the female line. The only clan of importance not named for an animal was the Wind clan and with this the Skunk was closely associated, the Skunk clan having always been linked with it. I obtained the names of over 50 clans but some of these were known to only one or two informants, and a number of others were small and bound into phratral associations with clans of greater prominence. Some clans were considered as equivalents throughout the entire nation. The Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, and Turtle seem always to have been united in one phratry with the Wind; the Wolf and Salt with the Bear; the Pahosa with the Deer; the Wildcat with the Panther; and the Turkey and Támi with the Alligator. In the same way the Snake, Kapitca, and Woksi were almost invariably counted in with the Aktayatci; the Mole, Toad, and Tcikote always went together and were generally allied with the Deer and Pahosa; and the

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614 [615]

Lidjâmi, Eagle, Hickory nut, Fox, Cane, and Muskrat[1] were usually placed with the Raccoon.

Some phratral associations, however, were confined to one or a few towns and did not extend throughout the nation. Thus the Potato was commonly placed in one phratry with the Raccoon but in Tukabahchee it was separated. The Beaver was usually placed with the Bird, but in Alabama it was quite distinct. On the other hand it was sometimes classed with the Alligator. Occasionally the Aktayatci formed one phratry with the Raccoon, and much more rarely the Deer and Panther were found together. Differences of this kind were due in some measure to the council system. Every important clan in a given town, or every group of related clans, held meetings during the annual ceremony known as the busk and each listened to an address by its oldest capable male member or "uncle." If an individual came to live in a town in which his own clan or his phratral group was not represented, he would elect to affiliate with one of those already in existence. It was usual for all of the children of each group of this kind to consider themselves brothers and sisters between whom marriage was ordinarily prohibited. However, the information I received shows plainly that sexual intimacy between individuals of linked clans was not considered as serious as between members of the same clan. It is specifically stated regarding some of these clans that "they were kin" up to noon, or up to midnight, and separate the rest of the time, *i. e.*, a limited taboo was maintained against them. It is also said that a man would sometimes pretend that a woman whom he wished to marry was of a certain clan, for which he would manufacture a name, although she was in fact of his own, and that, if he were a man of influence, he often "put over" this new creation of his. On the other hand, I have been told that, even though children of certain of the primary clans were brought up together, they would never be regarded as brothers and sisters. It is quite plain that all sorts of variations had grown up in response to unpredictable situations.

When one eliminates the obscure and the constantly linked clans, about nine are left of something like major importance. These are the Wind, Bear, Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Deer, and Panther. We should perhaps add the Potato. The Beaver, however, has importance mainly in one group of towns, and the Aktayatci appear to have been rather closely associated with the Hitchiti and the Seminole, but also with Hilibi, Wiogufki, and Eufaula.

[1] In the 42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (p. 116) I erroneously called this the Mink.

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614 The question naturally arises whether some of these clans may not have been brought in with formerly independent tribes. All we can say is that certain clans are more prominent in some of these tribes than among the true Muskogee but whether they were brought in by them we do not know. Thus, as just mentioned, the Aktayatci was particularly prominent among the Hitchiti, as were the Snake, Kapitca and Woksi, and in a more pronounced manner the Toad, Mole, and Tcikote. The Daddy-long-legs and Salt were similarly associated with the Alabama, the former, indeed, being hardly known outside of that tribe.

616 Besides this division into phratral groups all of the clans were ranged in two moieties called respectively, Hathagálgi, "White People," and Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech." The Wind and Bear with their phratral associates were almost invariably White, and the Raccoon and Aktayatci and their allies almost invariably Tciloki. The Bird is usually White but among the Alabama and Koasati it is Tciloki. The Beaver is also White usually, but when it is associated with the Alligator and when the Alligator is not a White clan, the Beaver often becomes Tciloki. The Alligator is most often Tciloki but in a number of towns it is White. The Deer is usually Tciloki but it is White in a few towns. Today the Panther is almost always Tciloki but some of the oldest myths and some of my best informants assert that it was anciently White.

When I first went among the Creeks, I was told that in one or two towns the clan moieties were exogamous, but the greater number of my informants held the contrary opinion. I was much surprised, therefore, during my last visit to have most of my informants maintain that they were exogamous. This much is certain, that there were striking exceptions to this law in comparatively early times, for instance, in the case of the famous Creek speaker Hobohíl Yáhola. Probably it will never be possible to say whether this phratral exogamy was breaking down or growing in times known to us. In recent years the principal function performed by these moieties has been to determine the line-up of the players in practice games within the town. The important bearing the mere character of a name may have in social evolution is shown by the fact that, on account of the name, persons of European blood were usually reckoned as "friends" of the Hathagas, and in consequence the latter acquired a reputation as "progressives," while the Tcilokis were considered, and acted like, "conservatives."

621 Besides the clans, phratries, and moieties there were certain groups
624 in each town which had official functions. Some of these were

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determined by the individual ability—usually military—of those who belonged to them. Thus a man might start his public career as a common warrior or tàsikaia, a word now often translated "citizen," be promoted to the position of an imała łàbotski, or "Little Imała," then to that of an imała łàko, or "Big Imała," and finally become a tàstanàgi, or "war leader." If sufficiently prominent he might be made a tàstànàgi łàko or holibonaia, "war speaker," though of these there was never more than one in a town at any one time. There were "beds" or seats in the square grounds for each of these classes, but not all were promoted into them. Men who belonged to the clan of the chief (miko) would be given seats in his section and form the mikàlgi, "chiefs," who acted as a kind of special executive council. If they belonged to a certain clan known as henìhàlgi, they would be given seats in another place. The functions of the henìhàlgi are somewhat uncertain but they were concerned largely with the maintenance of peace and charged themselves with the internal prosperity of the tribe. The henìhàlgi were almost always formed of the Wind clan, and if, for any reason, the Wind clan could not be used, the Bird or Beaver, or at least some clan considered White, would take their place. There was also a class of men called ist-atcagagi, the old, experienced men from all tribes, retired from active service but keepers of the tribal lore. It seems fairly evident that a correlation existed anciently between White towns, White clans, and the henìhàlgi, and that the miko of a White town was generally chosen from a White clan. It is even possible that the miko of a Red town was formerly chosen from a White clan. Certainly there is a marked tendency to choose chiefs from the Bear clan, even in Red towns, though many of them are also from the Raccoon and the Aktayatci.

A word must now be said regarding the ceremonial grounds. Originally every Creek town had such a ground which at a still earlier period was probably the ceremonial ground of a small tribe. As a tribe increased in numbers, however, the ground often became too small to accommodate all of its members comfortably and so it split into two or more. Undoubtedly, before the organization of the Creek Confederation, there was great diversity among these grounds and a certain element of diversity has persisted until the present day, but on the other hand considerable standardization has undoubtedly taken place. Creek legend asserts that the first ceremonial ground was given to the Coweta, the Kasihta, or the Tukabahchee by the Breath Controller or by other supernatural beings, and copied by the remaining towns from them. While this represents a modern

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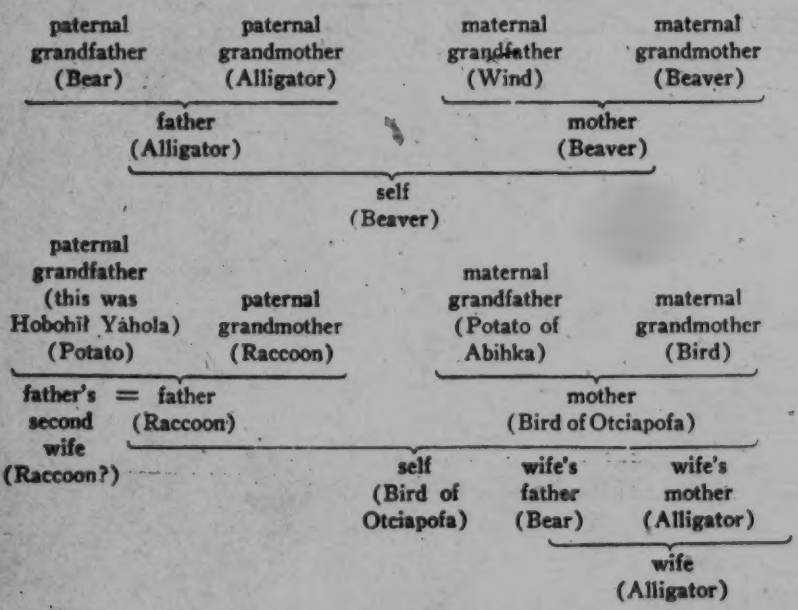
GENEALOGIES

The two brief genealogies which follow will illustrate in some measure the influence of the clan system on marriage. The first is the genealogy of Jeff Canard of Łapłáko; the second that of Earnest Gouge of Hanna, the latter of especial interest because it includes the famous orator Hobohił Yáhola.



CONCLUSION

The busk undoubtedly represents a long period of development, and as the stages through which it passed and the elements entering into it have been lost, we can never understand it fully. Its main purpose, however, was evident. It was to restore the connections of the tribe with the universe which a year of civil or profane living had tended to rupture. Hence the new fire, extracted from its abiding place in the wood and not as yet sullied by contact with humanity. Hence the rigorous fast accompanied by administration of medicines divinely revealed to the ancestors, the general pardon of offenders, the sabbath calm prescribed for that period of regeneration, the use of white paint, and the employment of the term white—"the white day," "the white smoke," "the white drink"—in various parts of the ritual. The one discordant note seems to have been provided by the women's dance, since the leaders

[For seating arrangements of clans in square grounds and for general information on the role of clans in community organization, see category 621]

[For a tabular list of clans and a comparison and discussion of clanship in this group with that in selected tribes of the Southeast, see 1: Swanton, NN11 Creek, category 116, pp. 114-120.]